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The Potsdam Decisions

THE decisions of the Big Three at Potsdam represent a step in the liquidation of the war in Europe. They do not predetermine the nature of the peace to follow, but they choose a significant direction for the long pilgrimage which the search for peace will require. What intelligent people want to discover concerning these decisions is whether they contribute to a durable and creative peace and if so, how. To this question all considerations of guilt and punishment are secondary. Is what has now been done acceptable as a beginning of further progress? Have any glaring mistakes been made?

We pass over the obvious omission of any direct reference to the war in Asia. Other omissions are the problems of Turkey and the Straits, or any further contribution to the colonial question beyond the decisions of San Francisco. The announced settlement is strictly European, and even as such it is temporary in the sense that it applies primarily to the immediate future, while Germany is under armed occupation.

THE TREATMENT OF GERMANY

The center of the whole problem is of course what is to be done with Germany and the Germans. The pronouncement says just what was expected about liquidation of the Nazis and their institutions, of the General Staff and military organization, and about disarmament and prompt punishment of war criminals. In this respect it is as hard a peace as anyone could desire, and the harder the better. It says nothing about the punishment of the German people, beyond the inevitable hardships which they have brought on themselves. On the contrary it offers them a hope of life, freedom and eventual participation in the comity of nations. This is the only attitude open to sensible men. More significant than the expression of such sentiments, however, is the opportunity for fulfilling them.

First, we must note the important implied rejection of all proposals for destruction of Germany as a nation. Though there are annexations, there is no partition. Even under the military government, the economy of Germany is to be considered as a whole and Germans in all zones of occupation are to have as nearly equal treatment as possible. There is mention of a German government eventually to be formed, and in the meantime administration of important national agencies is to be turned over to Germans in Berlin, under Allied control. Large territories in the East have been provisionally allotted to Poland and Russia, and eventually others in the West may be pared off the nation. This problem we shall consider in a subsequent paragraph.

The political decisions for shaping the organic life of the German community are wise in principle. No recognition whatever is given to the argument that the Germans are and forever will be incapable of democracy; on the contrary, the encouragement of democracy is to be the cornerstone of the structure. Political parties of democratic orientation are to be allowed; the press and education are to be prepared for democratic freedom. Free trade unions are to be permitted. The

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present emphasis is on the reconstitution of local self-government, but this is apparently conceived as a measure of education in citizenship rather than as a barrier to eventual national self-government.

The economic life of Germany is to be so arranged, according to the intention of the agreement, as to provide Germans the essentials of a decent life without permitting them to wage war. How to do this has always been a puzzle, and we do not believe the Big Three have arrived at any final solution of it. But they have avoided mistaken solutions.

The program proposed would not, as some of the headlines say, make Germany mainly an agricultural nation. Emphasis is to be laid on agriculture *and* the industries necessary for peace. Nor is all industry which is capable of producing war implements or materials to be destroyed. This would clearly be impossible if the Germans are to live the kind of life which modern technology dictates; indeed, it would be impossible if Germany were to sustain her present population on a level above that of a rural slum. Industries needed in peace, but capable of producing war goods, are to be under strict Allied control. Only the purely war industries are to be destroyed—in so far as they are not required for reparations. That Germany has some industry useful only for war is of course true, as it is true of every other industrial nation. Germany during the period of occupation is to be made self-sufficient as nearly as possible; foreign trade will be controlled to permit only those exports necessary to pay for needed imports. This is a sensible policy for any nation.

What is to be the criterion of what Germany needs in peace? Here the conferees set up a standard which is just in principle, though extremely difficult to apply. The German standard of life is to equal the average of those obtaining in all other European nations, excluding Russia and Britain. Thus it might be above that of Bulgaria, while below that of Sweden. It will be higher than that which Germany or indeed most other ravaged countries can maintain in the near future.

Such rough comparisons are possible. But economists who have studied the subject know that nothing is more difficult than to compare accurately the standard of living in one country with that in another which has different consumer habits. One soon gets off into incommensurable abstractions like the relative emotional satisfactions derived from different ways of life. If this limitation is to be enforced in a long future, it will leave open the possibility for interminable argument. But it is specified only for the period of occupation, and we predict that in the long run it will be forgotten, except in the generalized form which ought to be acceptable to all the United Nations—that the standards of backward regions ought to approximate more closely those of the more advanced, and that no nation ought to exploit others.

Reparations are to be in the form of goods required by the several victorious nations. This avoids the tangles which accompanied the monetary reparation provisions of the Versailles treaty. There is also a time limit for the payment of reparation goods; the future will not long be shadowed by such obligations. Some of the goods to be taken may now be needed by the Germans, but the need of their former victims should take precedence. Each of the great powers will take its reparation from the area it controls, except that Russia will have a specified share of machinery and equipment from western Germany, where most of the machinery is. Russia will exchange goods needed in Germany for some of the machinery she takes. She will lay no claim to German gold; presumably this will be of some use to Britain in her present financial straits. The agreement says nothing about the right of smaller nations to reparations; their right must be well served, and we assume that it will be. The process is left in the hands of the Reparations Commission.

Since at least a large part of German industry is to be retained, something had to be done about the industrialists and cartel control. The solution offered is negative and can hardly be final. Control is to be decentralized, cartels and monopolies broken up. Does this mean competition under private ownership? That is hardly a stable condition; competition preceded the existing combinations. If the economy of Germany is to be considered as a unit and is to be planned for certain purposes, central control of some kind is a foregone conclusion. Obviously the national government, or its forerunner, will do the job. Democratic political action in Germany, as in the rest of Europe, is almost certain to lead eventually to public ownership.

The most dubious part of the treatment to be accorded Germany is the annexation of what was formerly almost purely German territory by Russia and Poland—East Prussia and Silesia. This was undoubtedly demanded by Russia for strategic reasons, and there was little Britain and the United States could do about it, even if they objected. It makes necessary the expulsion of large German populations, overcrowds the remainder of German territory, and may give rise to a dangerous irredentism. Two means of avoiding the worst possible consequences, however, remain open. The first is that the decision is not final and is subject to revision in the peace treaty. The second is that if the economy and culture of Europe are to be dominant, rather than the economies and cultures of separate nations, and if that economy is to expand so as to provide increasing satisfactions, boundaries may become of little importance, no matter where they are.

Poland and Eastern Europe

Aside from its territorial provisions, the settlement provides a highly satisfactory solution of the Polish question. The new Polish government is endorsed in

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the firmest of terms, and measures will be taken to see that all the resources of the Polish state outside Poland are at its disposal. This ends the "Government in Exile" and makes improbable the maintenance of any opposition Polish army outside the country. Free democratic elections, with the participation of all anti-Fascist parties, are assured. Freedom of the press and opportunity for foreign correspondents to observe and report are guaranteed.

Similar assurances are made concerning the other countries of Eastern Europe occupied by the Red Army. This whole region is opened up diplomatically and culturally; the drift is obviously away from any exclusive "sphere of influence." The consideration given to extending the jurisdiction of the new government in Vienna to the whole of Austria is also wholesome.

United Nations Provisions

The Big Three do not promise not to meet again, but they do set up another standing body to carry on the work of constructing the peace. It is composed of the Foreign Ministers of the three powers, plus those of France and China. This body, which comes closer to representing the Security Council of the United Nations, will draft peace treaties with the other former enemy states, consulting interested nations as it does so. Italy will be first.

All these nations will, in due course, be invited to join the United Nations. So will all the neutrals, with the single exception of Spain, as long as the Franco dictatorship lasts. The thrust at Franco is one from which, happily, he probably will not be able to recover. Better late than never.

It is well that the period of closed conferences and dictated conclusions, necessary as it has been for the war, is coming to an end. So far, its work has been as good as could be expected. Nothing like the Versailles fiasco seems to be in prospect. Mistakes have been made; some of them have been corrected. Others may be reversed in the future. Meanwhile the peace, instead of being created in one vast, confused and trading conference, grows step by step.

In Conclusion

The German problem is not yet settled, but the way is left open for what may be a wholesome settlement. In the end we must rely upon a German government, and this government must be democratic and pacific. It must be entrusted with the control of German industry. While the German economy cannot be allowed to dominate Europe, it should advance in step with the rest of the continent, and the way for this is left open. The immediate future will be unavoidably grim for the Germans—as it will for others as well. They will know what it means to lose a war and will be convinced that they will not be allowed to start another. The substance of hope, however, is permitted them, so long as they hope for things that lead to life and not to death. To us it looks as if the storm clouds of war need not again gather over Germany.

The Atomic Bomb

During the war the Germans several times announced that they had developed a bomb employing atomic energy. But they were lying. The United States has now succeeded, after spending $2 billion and many months of the work of 65,000 people, in harnessing the force of the atom and employing it against the Japanese in a new explosive of unparalleled energy. The first news, made public August 6, said that the bomb has more power than 20,000 tons of TNT, and 2,000 times the blast of the largest bomb ever used before. An announcement, obviously prepared in advance, was released by President Truman 16 hours after one or more atomic bombs had been dropped on Hiroshima, an important base of the Japanese army. President Truman noted that the ultimatum demanding immediate surrender, issued on July 26, was intended "to spare the Japanese people from utter destruction." The Japanese leaders rejected the offer, and they and their followers must now take the consequences. The new bomb, details of which will remain secret for the present, embodies "a harnessing of the basic power of the universe," as the President said. It may open the way for "an entirely new concept of force and power." Let us hope that its first result may be to bring the Japanese to their senses and cause them to end the war

Mackenzie in the New York Post

Too Slow Motion

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whose dreadful consequences to themselves are now so greatly enhanced.

Pétain on Trial

The trial of Pétain will long be remembered as an extraordinarily dramatic, if grim and sordid, spectacle. The three chief figures last week were the 89-year-old Marshal, Pierre Laval, and the American Admiral William D. Leahy, once United States Ambassador to Vichy. Pétain's defense has been, as was expected, that he yielded to the Germans in order to protect the French people as much as possible. Few who followed the course of events will believe that this is anything other than a brazen falsehood. Still more brazen was Laval's attempt to defend himself along the same lines. This notorious pro-Nazi insisted that he had always been loyal to France and to democratic principles, and that any acts of his which seemed to show the contrary were performed under duress and to save the lives of French soldiers. Laval has already been condemned to death by a French court, in a trial conducted before he was captured by the French, and presumably that verdict still stands. As for Admiral Leahy, it is difficult to understand why he should have yielded to Pétain's importunities and sent him a testimonial letter. True, Admiral Leahy made the point that Pétain's activities had been harmful to France, but he added that he was sure the Marshal's "principal aim was to protect the French people." The Admiral obviously was not well informed about what was happening while he was at Vichy; it was unwise of President Roosevelt ever to entrust such a mission to anyone but a trained and able professional diplomat. His letter will probably do Pétain little good, and has already done the Admiral himself some harm.

We do not know what the outcome of the trial will be; apparently the indictment was badly drawn, and covered too much territory. It is not of great importance we feel, that Pétain, who already appears to have suffered some mental impairment, should receive drastic punishment; in so far as he knows what is going on about him, he has already suffered nearly the most complete degradation of which man is capable. Whatever the judgment of the French court, we believe the verdict of history will be that already passed by worldwide public opinion—that Pétain was an enemy of democratic principles and of the best interests of his country.

Franco on the Skids

One of the first fruits of the Labor victory in England, it is safe to say, is the stern criticism of Franco to be found in the Potsdam declaration. If Churchill had retained his place in the Big Three, it is highly unlikely that the document would have been so forthright, and quite possibly, it would not have mentioned Franco at all. The angry reaction of the Spanish government, and its refusal to permit the people to know what was said about it at Potsdam, show how disturbed the Spanish Fascists are. This is obviously the moment to implement the declaration regarding Spain made by Harold Laski on behalf of the Labor regime. Franco has been kept in power heretofore only by the insistence of the British and American governments. British support has now been withdrawn; the United States should do as well, and let the last Axis dictator in Europe crash into the ruins along with his predecessors. The Spanish Republicans, led by the distinguished former Premier Juan Negrín, are able, willing and ready to take over. They should be encouraged to do so at once, and all necessary measures to aid them ought to be invoked, subject only to the provision that we must be careful not to seem to the bulk of the Spanish people to interfere in their domestic affairs in a way which they would have a right to resent.

Congress Has Work to Do

Congress has gone on vacation leaving the nation unprepared for peace. Senate Majority Leader Barkley admitted this in his closing address of the session. After praising the Senate for the hard work it had done on international matters the past year, Senator Barkley pointed to a 15-point legislative program on which no action has been taken, although, he said, some of the problems involved are "immediate and urgent" and "cannot long be delayed." But Barkley never once suggested that the Congress give up its vacation and stay on the job.

So Congress has gone home. And these, among other critical issues, have been put on the shelf for two months until its return: liberalization of unemployment compensation, full employment legislation, expansion of social security, immediate and postwar housing, revision of the surplus-property-disposal system, government reorganization, cartel and monopoly controls, and water-power development. The public should demand that Congress return and act on these questions now, not in October or November. At the very least, the congressional committees concerned with employment legislation should return a full month before the scheduled return of Congress, so that hearings and reports will be completed and the decks cleared for quick action to prepare us for peace.

Economic Preparedness

The Senate Banking and Currency Committee had completed only two days of hearings on the bi-partisan Full Employment Bill of 1945 when Congress recessed for a vacation. But enough was said in those two days to make it clear how urgent is immediate action on this bill as a first step in a legislative program "for economic preparedness." Senator Joseph O'Mahoney (D., Wyo.) and others who testified for the bill pointed out that it would provide for a yearly national

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production and employment budget to be submitted to Congress by the President, with the aim of keeping our economy running by expansion of private enterprise, with government spending provided only as a last resort where private enterprise fails to do the job.

There is a long road ahead to passage of the Full Employment Bill and the other legislation needed to supplement it, and to creation of the administrative machinery to put them into effect. Senator Robert Wagner (D., N. Y.) who is chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee, should insist that the members of his Committee stay in Washington and complete hearings on this bill during the recess so that final action on it is not delayed any longer than is absolutely necessary. The public should demand of Senator Wagner, Majority Leader Barkley and President Truman that this, at least, be done.

Columbia Basin Reclamation

Landowners of the Columbia River Basin in Washington State—80 percent of them absentee—have voted 2,342 to 52 to sign contracts with the Bureau of Reclamation for irrigation of their land. The area involved is roughly 80 miles long and 50 miles wide, embraces 1,029,000 acres of rich but now mostly barren soil, and will cost $280 million. The farmers' share of this expense will be only $85 million—roughly $85 an acre. Payments—free of interest—will begin 10 years after first delivery of water, and will cover a 40-year period. Coulee Dam power will pay for the nearly $200 million balance. The plan calls for formation of a 27-mile-long reservoir, contained between two earthen dams on the floor of upper Grand Coulee. Some highways, a railroad, and a former Coulee Dam construction boom town will be inundated. A chain of recreational parks, playgrounds, swimming facilities, outdoor fireplaces and other camping advantages will be constructed. Two-thirds of the 15,000 to 20,000 farms envisioned as an outgrowth of the life-giving water to be brought to parched soil, will be within 20 miles of one of these recreation centers. Coulee Dam power has already demonstrated its value to the nation, both for manufacture of aluminum in the Pacific Northwest and for power to run shipyards and aircraft factories in that region. Now comes its counterpart; reclamation of the desert. The project is listed as the first the Bureau will undertake after the war. Total annual gross farm income from the area, most of which now supports only sagebrush, is estimated at $46 million at prewar prices. This approximates the farm income of the entire state of Utah.

Military Review

A certain element of mystery surrounding the reports of Admiral Halsey's strikes against Japan was partly dispelled when the Twentieth Air Force issued a release on its mining operations around the coasts of the doomed empire. The announcement was pitched in the somewhat vainglorious key usual with the flying services, which have no gift of understatement. But when they say the harbors of Japan are practically closed by mines there seems no reason to doubt the substantial accuracy of the statement. Third Fleet planes began appearing over the Inland Sea on July 10 and attacking some of the remaining ships of the Jap fleet there; three weeks later both the carrier planes and the B-29's were hitting some of the same ships in the same area.

This was the mystery. The Japanese must have known perfectly well that the attackers would be back and that either from choice or incapacity, they could make no effective opposition. Why did they not get the ships out of there? Tsushima Strait is so narrow that even a vessel deprived of her own motive capacity could get across it at the end of a tow-line in 24 hours and the port of Dairen, immune to air raids since the Japanese captured the bases in South China, is no great distance beyond. Only a mining operation so complete that the Japanese preferred to have their ships sunk by bombers in the shallow water of the harbors can explain their failure to take the elementary precaution of moving what was left of their navy.

The incident throws some light on a technical development that has been more effectively sat on than any other in the war, not excepting the case of radar, about which a good deal of information has come out. Not long after the German surrender there was an inconsiderable item in some of the papers about the difficulties encountered in supplying some of the American occupation troops, who were scheduled to use Bremen as a port of entry. During the winter, said this report, the British had somewhat reluctantly decided to seal the place up with their new "unsweepable" mines, and the mines had really proved unsweepable to the extent that there had already been 95 deaths among German personnel assigned to clean them up with the full coöperation of the Allies.

There is no hint as to the technical characteristics of these mines, and in the case of Japan at least, more than one type may be postulated. It is also probable that a means of dealing with these new mines will be discovered. The rapidity with which the antidote to Hitler's magnetic mines was found is altogether unusual in the technical history of war. The important and striking feature of these aerial mining operations is that almost unobserved, long-range planes have developed a means of striking at sea traffic without being forced to come in contact with the enemy's armed forces. Mr. Bernard Brodie has pointed out that airpower will supersede seapower only when it is more efficient to fly cargo than to move it by ship; these mining operations are more of a step in that direction than any amount of aerial attacks on convoys, which can always be made expensive for the attacker.

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The detail of the command arrangements in the Pacific is even more bewildering than the original announcement that MacArthur would have direction of the land, Admiral Nimitz of the naval, and General Spaatz of the air forces. According to the latest announcement from Washington, General Spaatz's command includes planes based both on the Marianas and Okinawa and the latter island is shared by three air armies which fall under the MacArthur command, while there is no central coördinating authority nearer than Washington. What happens if General MacArthur wants to use some of the planes of the Strategic Air Force for tactical purposes, in an emergency, a step which became necessary both in Normandy and during last winter's Belgian break-through? Has he authority to take them over, or does he have to get in touch with General Spaatz, who might be on Saipan at the moment? With the practical abolition of the Japanese Navy, our fleet has few strictly naval tasks left beyond the elimination of the enemy submarines, now being used as raiders for the first time. Admiral Nimitz is therefore pretty much committed to the support of the invading armies, but there are still wide areas available for conflict of authority and lack of coördination, and it would not be surprising to see some of them crop up during the coming operations.

The British have had no difficulty in finding a supreme commander for their forces in the East. The fact that we have not been able to find one can probably be attributed more to the personality of General MacArthur than to any other single factor. He is too able an officer and knows too much about the Japanese to be dispensed with; but it is interesting to note how his overbearing manner and anxiety for personal leadership have caused him to miss out on the command that might otherwise have fallen to him naturally.

The New Labor Cabinet

If the AFL and the CIO were suddenly called upon to furnish a President, Vice-President and Cabinet for the United States, as well as some twenty other outstanding government officials, we should have a rough idea of the problem by which the British Labor Party has just been confronted. On the whole, it seems to have done very well in the selection of its new Cabinet. Attlee, Bevin and Morrison are names well known on both sides of the Atlantic, and they will inspire confidence in everyone except those to whom all Labor is anathema. Other members known in the United States include Sir Stafford Cripps as President of the Board of Trade; Hugh Dalton as Chancellor of the Exchequer; Emmanuel Shinwell as Minister of Fuel and Power; Aneurin Bevan, able editor of the *Tribune*, as Minister of Health; Philip John Noel-Baker as Minister of State, to assist Bevin as Foreign Secretary; Sir Ben Smith as Minister of Food; and John Lawson as Secretary of State for War. The important post of Secretary of State for India goes to Frederick Pethick-Lawrence (who is to be made a baron). George Isaacs will be Minister of Labor, Alfred Barnes of War Transport, Tom Williams of Agriculture and Fisheries and John Wilmot of Supply and Aircraft Production. The difficult post of Secretary of State for the Colonies goes to George Henry Hall.

The conservative American press has been sneering at the new Labor Cabinet on the ground that some of its members have only a common-school education, and that it includes seven former miners, a printer, a taxi driver and so on. But everyone knows by now that going to college is no guarantee of an education, and that there have been almost innumerable cases of highly educated and able administrators who had little formal schooling. Though the impression is given by these papers that a man who was a miner, for instance, went directly from the pits to a high government post, this is completely false. While in fact a man straight from the pits could do no worse than some college-trained Tory diplomats of the past, actually the members of the Labor Cabinet are people who have been in executive posts for many years, numbers of them having served in one or the other of the two previous Cabinets. If anything, the new Cabinet errs on the side of the unexpected, the elderly and the safe. Its average age is said to be sixty, which is higher than it ought to be—a disturbing testimonial to Britain's loss of potential younger leaders in two disastrous wars in one generation.

It is important to point out, however, that of the Parliamentary Labor Party only about 125 members are trade unionists. It is not accidental, either, that the key posts in a potential nationalization program have gone to two non-union, socialist Ministers, Cripps and Dalton. The Labor Party is in deadly earnest in its effort to create full employment in Great Britain, and socialize industries which, under private ownership, are not able to coöperate with the government's plan.

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Church, State, and Schools

SEPARATION of church and state is the warp and woof of American life. Upon that principle, established with the adoption of the First Amendment to the Constitution 150 years ago, has rested the harmony of all creeds and denominations. Our non-sectarian school system, founded upon that doctrine, was won only after a long and bitter struggle. All through our history, men have battled arduously to keep our schools free of religious influences. Yet today, in the midst of a world war to defend democratic institutions, we find thoughtful Americans in nearly every walk of life agreeing to the breakdown of that cardinal principle and accepting with little or no protest the invasion of the schools by the church. Liberal congressmen, liberal educators and social scientists, as well as both branches of the labor movement, with few exceptions, have endorsed the Mead-Aiken Federal Aid to Education bill (S. 717) pending in Congress, which would allocate $300 million annually to the schools of the country, non-public as well as public, *including parochial schools of all religious denominations*.

Designed to raise the level of education, this bill would abrogate by federal law the historic principle of separation of church and state by granting federal funds to sectarian schools for the construction of buildings, transportation, libraries, textbooks, health programs and other projects. It is not improbable that in time federal public funds will be used also to pay the salaries of the teachers of parochial schools, and we may find ourselves reverting to the pre-1791 school system under denominational auspices supported by the state. In view of the trend, it is well to examine the record now and find out whether secular education has failed.

Whether or not the Mead-Aiken bill is enacted into law, the traditional principle of separation of church and state has already been so greatly impaired by the introduction of religious instruction into the public schools and the use of federal and state funds for the support of parochial and sectarian institutions that it may be too late to save it. Many schools now begin the school day with the Lord's Prayer and the reading of the Scriptures. In one state, the law requires the posting of the "Ten Commandments of the Christian Religion" on the walls of all schools. In two states, old-fashioned evangelical services are conducted in public-school classrooms with the consent of state superintendents of education. In others the parochial-school plant is used as part of the public-school system; the teachers wear the ecclesiastical garb, though the state pays the bills. In still others, religious training is given in the public-school buildings, the rooms bearing the crucifix and the teachers being nuns employed by the school board. Certain communities in the state of Maine do not furnish a non-sectarian school of any kind, and non-Catholics are required to send their children to Catholic schools to be taught by nuns and priests paid by the state or send them away to a neighboring community where a non-sectarian school is provided.

In many states public-school children are released from the school day for religious instruction outside the school for which credits are allowed toward high-school graduation. Many states subsidize transportation for parochial as well as for public-school children, and in a number of states parochial-school pupils receive textbooks from the state. This is indeed a new interpretation of the secular education established over a century and a half ago, which was believed to be so interwoven into the fabric of American life as to defy all inroads.

There are over 250 different religious sects in this country, offering many interpretations of religious doctrine. In many cases members of the same denomination differ on points of theology. That is as it should be in a democracy; if we had one church we should have religious totalitarianism. But imagine the task of a public school teacher charged with "reading" the Bible to a class composed, as our public school classes are, of children from the homes of Roman and Greek Catholics, Protestants, Jews, Baptists, Presbyterians, Methodists, Christian Scientists, Mormons, Shakers, Quakers, Mennonites, Jehovah's Witnesses, Lutherans, Congregationalists and others. Not only does she have to reconcile the varied religious opinions of her pupils, but she must take into consideration the views of dissenters, atheists and that half of our population which does not belong to any church. (The total church membership in the United States is 68,501,186, which adds up to about one-half of the total population.)

The movement to require, by legislative act, Bible reading and other religious exercises in the public schools is not a new one in American history. In 1784, a bill, championed by Patrick Henry, was submitted to the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia to establish "a provision for teachers of the Christian religion." James Madison declared the bill to be "obnoxious on account of its dishonorable principle and dangerous tendency," and circulated *A Memorial and Remonstrance* against the bill in which he stated:

> It is proper to take alarm at the first experiment upon our liberties. We hold this prudent jealousy to be the first duty of citizens, and one of the noblest characteristics of the late

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Revolution. The freemen of America did not wait till usurped power had strengthened itself by exercise, and entangled the question in precedents. They saw all the consequences in the principle, and they avoided the consequences by denying the principle.

Madison's warning resulted in the defeat of the bill and the passage instead of Thomas Jefferson's "Act for Establishing Religious Freedom" upon which was based the demand for complete separation of church and state, in the sense in which this principle applies to the public-school system.

Since that time there have been numerous attempts to reverse by devious methods our traditional policy and to impose religious education upon the public-school system. In the case of the Protestants, efforts have been made to compel the reading of the King James (Protestant) version of the Bible in the classrooms; in the case of the Catholic Church, which claims the right to be the sole educator of all youth, agitation has been directed to the "capture" of the "godless" American schools.

Today's growing demand for the teaching of religion in our public schools is based allegedly on the belief that it would serve as a possible deterrent to the alarming increase in juvenile delinquency due to war conditions. Statistics reveal, however, that the teaching of religion in parochial schools has not lessened crime among their pupils as compared with the pupils of public schools.

During the first 50 years of the nineteenth century only one state, Massachusetts, enacted a law requiring Bible reading in the public schools; no such law was enacted in the last half of that century or in the first decade of the twentieth century. But the movement developed with renewed force after World War I under the influence of the fundamentalists and the Ku Klux Klan. Today 12 states have statutes, and the District of Columbia a ruling, *requiring* Bible reading in the public schools; 7 states have statutes specifically *permitting* it and 11 states by legislative enactment *prohibit* the practice. In those states where the law is silent on the subject, discretionary power is lodged with the school authorities to permit or reject Bible reading, and in many states it is practised without authority of law. Most of the laws require that the Bible shall be read every school day; some go so far as to specify the amount to be read. Almost always the King James (Protestant) version is used. School officials are required to certify each month that the law is being obeyed and violations are severely dealt with—by loss of salary, revocation of license and even by imprisonment.

The validity of the laws requiring Bible reading and other religious exercises has been tested in many states, the courts differing widely as to whether it constitutes a violation of the constitutional and statutory provisions for separation of church and state. Thus far, the United States Supreme Court has refused to consider the question on the ground that it is not a federal but a state issue. Twelve state supreme courts have sanctioned Bible reading in the schools, some of the courts holding that whether or not the Bible is sectarian depends wholly on its use and others declaring the Bible to be non-sectarian. A Texas court, in a decision which virtually declares Christianity to be the national religion, held that the reading of the Bible in the schools does not infringe upon the rights of religious liberty. In four states, supreme courts have held such laws unconstitutional—Illinois, South Dakota, Louisiana, and Wisconsin. In South Dakota the court held that under our system of government the teaching of religion is committed to individuals and to religious non-state-supported institutions and that the guarantee of religious freedom in the state constitution is supreme. The Wisconsin Supreme Court ruled that the reading of the Bible is sectarian instruction and that a public school used for this purpose may be called a place of worship within the meaning of the Constitution. Both the Illinois and Louisiana Supreme Courts referred to the unfairness of the practice to Jews, pointing out that to Jews and non-believers the Bible is a sectarian book.

A movement to impose sectarian religious instruction on public-school children, unparalleled in recent years and limited, as far as we know, to Maine and Vermont, is that conducted by the New England Fellowship, a Protestant evangelical association, with headquarters at Boston. Nearly 300 rural schools are serviced by the Fellowship's evangelists. Six thousand rural school boys and girls are given religious instruction in the public-school rooms on school time by traveling "ministers." Thousands of religious tracts and "lesson sheets" are circulated through the schools. The Fellowship frankly admits that "an effort is made to win all of the young people in the community for Christ and to interest boys and girls to attend and join in church activities." Protests against the Fellowship's activities were made to the Maine and Vermont state commissioners of education with the result that the practice was barred from the schools of Maine as a violation of the state law. The Vermont commissioner, however, takes the position that the State Board of Education "does not have the authority (even if it were disposed to do so, which it is not its intention to imply) to prohibit religious education by voluntary organizations which is not conducted as a required course of study in the public schools."

A plan which was thought to solve the problem of religious education in the public schools, innocuous enough on the surface but dangerous in practice, is that of dismissing public-school pupils during certain periods of the week for religious instruction in their

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churches or elsewhere. The movement had its origin in 1913 at Gary, Indiana, where Dr. William Wirt, Superintendent of Schools, authorized the schools to grant time for this purpose. The practice spread at first only through the Middle West, but by 1929 it had been adopted extensively all over the country. Today, "release time" is practiced, in over 1,000 communities in 10 states, under authority of law.

Protestant groups, hoping by means of the release-time plan to bolster their declining Sunday-school attendance, were the most active of the religious bodies initiating the movement. Catholics opposed the plan at the beginning, preferring to use their parochial schools, but have since taken advantage of it. Jews have long had facilities for intensive religious study after school hours and, with a few exceptions, have consistently opposed the movement.

The practice generally consists in excusing the pupils, upon written request of parents, one afternoon weekly. In some places all of the pupils are excused, and those who do not go to their churches or church schools may go home. In other communities only those who go for religious instruction are excused and the other pupils remain in school. The religious center sends its attendance record to the school to be checked against the school record, and though teachers are generally forbidden to comment on the attendance or non-attendance of any pupil at religious instruction, one of the abuses of the plan is that teachers with strong religious affiliations have been known to recruit children and even to proselytize.

Critics point to the fact that the release-time plan is used in some public schools as a pretext for taking a religious census. They object also to the method of dismissal whereby Catholic children are lined up on one side of the room, Protestant children on another and Jewish children on a third and led out through different doors to be met in the schoolyard by church escorts.

From the start there have been sharp differences of opinion regarding the desirability of the release-time program, many believing it to be the entering wedge for an introduction of sectarianism into the public school. That is virtually what it has turned out to be in a number of states. In many communities, religious instruction is actually given in public-school buildings, the teachers are nuns employed through the local school board, and the crucifix is hung on the walls of the classrooms. Religious classes were conducted by four Protestant ministers in Wayne County, New York, public schools until ordered stopped by the State Commissioner of Education on June 13, as the result of a protest filed by the Free Thinkers Society of Rochester. In several states, high-school students take Bible study in Sunday schools or parochial classes, while examinations are conducted by state educational authorities and credits are given toward graduation. There is little doubt that the release-time plan makes children conscious of religious differences, engenders hatreds and accentuates antagonisms which may not have previously existed to any appreciable extent, and results in division rather than harmony and peace in our religious life.

Attempts of sectarian groups, especially the Roman Catholics, to obtain public funds for free transportation for pupils of parochial schools have met little resistance in some states, but in others the principle of separation of church and state has been rigorously adhered to in opposing such moves. The question has been heatedly aired in public forums and in the press, arousing perhaps more ill-feeling and dissension than any other issue growing out of the attempts of religious groups to invade the public schools. Catholics believe they are entitled to this special consideration because they pay public-school taxes in addition to maintaining their parochial schools, thus saving the taxpayers' money. Opponents of the "pupil-transportation" laws argue in reply: the state is ready to educate your children in free public schools; if for any reason you believe your parochial schools are superior to the public schools, then you should be ready to support them completely. Private schools of all sorts save the taxpayers' money, yet they do not suggest that their pupils be given public aid. Bachelors, unmarried women and childless couples pay the school tax, but they do not ask for a rebate because they do not make use of the public-school system. Other proponents of the plan base their argument on the "child benefit" theory that free transportation to parochial-school children is a service to the child rather than to the school. On this theory the courts of Maryland, Louisiana and Mississippi have upheld the laws. Laws to provide subsidized transportation for pupils of parochial schools are on the statute books of 14 states, and in many states parochial-school children are furnished free tickets on public-school buses without authority of law. A majority of the state courts to whom the question of validity has been submitted have held the laws to be a violation of both state and federal constitutional provisions against the use of public-school money to aid sectarian schools.

It is only a short step from free transportation for parochial-school children to free textbooks. In five states of the Union—Kansas, Louisiana, Mississippi and Oregon—parochial schools are furnished free textbooks by the state under statutory provision. The Louisiana law was carried to the United States Supreme Court in a test case brought by a taxpayer. Chief Justice Hughes delivered the opinion of the court affirming the ruling of the Louisiana Supreme Court that for the state to supply free textbooks to children in parochial or sectarian schools is not a violation of either the state or federal constitution if the same school

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books, not religious or sectarian in character, are supplied to all children, on the theory that the pupils, not the schools, are the beneficiary.

If free textbooks may be furnished to pupils of parochial schools, why not free athletic equipment or free musical instruments or other supplies necessary to a well rounded education? And by the same logic, why should not the state pay the salaries of parochial-school teachers and the tuition of students in sectarian colleges? And why not use the taxpayers' money to build and equip parochial-school buildings? In fact, once the principle is established that it is the child, not the school, that is benefited, what is to prevent parochial-school children from sharing *per capita* in the public-school funds? And if, under our constitutional safeguards, public aid may be given to Catholic parochial schools, why should not public aid be given to schools conducted by Mormons, Spiritualists, Christian Scientists and all of the other 250 sects in this country?

The answer is that most of these things *are* being done today. It is common knowledge that many of our public schools are run on a pauper basis, yet thousands of dollars raised by taxation for public education are being used for parochial and sectarian schools, though we can ill afford to divert this money from public-school purposes. State funds, we have shown, are used for free transportation and free textbooks for parochial-school children, and taxpayers' money to pay the salaries of parochial-school teachers. Money paid by taxpayers to the federal government was granted by the Federal Works Agency recently, on application of the Roman Catholic bishop of Portland, to rebuild and equip a parochial-school building at Brunswick, Maine. Federal grants were made through the NYA in 1939-1940 to religious colleges and theological schools, to aid the unemployed and indigent students, in amounts ranging from $1,320 for the Union Theological Seminary (Protestant) to $102,870 for St. John's University (Catholic). Federal funds are used today for the education of Indian children in Catholic parochial schools on government reservations, despite the fifty-year struggle against it. When, in 1944, an attempt was made to cut the appropriation from $146,500 to $52,250, church pressure had the reduction "overruled" and the full amount was granted.

It was not so long ago (1934) that a strong Church lobby in Ohio, in the face of state constitutional prohibitions, sought a grant of $5 million from the legislature for the operation of parochial schools in that state, and met defeat only by a narrow margin after an active campaign had been conducted by the opposition. At the time, Mgr. Francis J. MacElwaine, superintendent of parochial schools in Toledo, stated that the question of appropriations for parochial schools would eventually touch the entire nation. That time is here now. If the Mead-Aiken bill is passed by Congress, even though the people of a state have provided in its constitution that public funds shall not be used to support sectarian education, the use of federal funds for this purpose would be insured.

Catholic opposition to the American public-school system is unequivocal. Popes, bishops, councils and congregations have repeatedly condemned our schools and warned against "the dangers inherent in a system of education without Almighty God." Agents of the Church have openly declared that the first duty of an American Catholic father to the public school is "to keep his children out of it . . . and not to pay taxes for its maintenance." Under Canon 1374:

> Catholic children must not attend non-Catholic, neutral or mixed schools; that is, such as are also open to non-Catholics. It is for the Bishop of the place alone to decide, *according to the instructions of the Apostolic See*, in what circumstances and with what precautions attendance at such schools may be tolerated, without danger of perversion to the pupils.

The Encyclical of Pius XI on "The Christian Education of Youth" issued on December 31, 1929, contains an affirmation of the Canon Law and a renewal of the condemnation of the American non-sectarian schools previously issued by Pius IX and Leo XIII. How the Canon Law and Pontifical decrees affect the schooling of American children is related in a publication, "May an American Oppose the Public School?" by Paul L. Blakely, S.J., bearing the imprimatur of the late Cardinal Hayes, Archbishop of New York. Father Blakely states that a Catholic "can find no tolerance for the opinions now almost universal in this country, that education belongs primarily to the civil power; that the schools belong to the state . . . that a system which deliberately excludes religious instruction from the classroom may be approved as proper, *even for non-Catholics*."

While Catholics are the chief critics of our public-school system and are the most persistent and resourceful of the religious groups endangering separation of church and state, they are by no means the only ones. Protestantism, which at the birth of the republic was in control of education, has witnessed the collapse of its parochial-school system and a steady decline in its Sunday-school population. It is a ready ally today of any group which would help it to regain its lost grip over the youth of America, a measure of control over education, and financial assistance from the government. How else can we explain the silence of influential Protestant groups, with its implied if not actual support of the abrogation of the historic principle of separation of church and state in the Mead-Aiken bill before Congress? Surely, they are not unaware of the damage it will do, if passed, to what Professor Conrad H. Moehlman has designated "the greatest cultural achievement of the United States"—our democratic, free, non-sectarian school system.

LUCILLE B. MILNER

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Valediction to Churchill

THERE IS A TENDENCY to draw back under the eaves, standing vaguely at attention, and salute as the valiant old gentleman makes his way back into that honorable shadow from which the war called him forth. He was not adjudged safe or sound enough for the responsibilities of government during the ten years before 1939, and there is little likelihood that his talents will again be needed in the arduous but unheroic years ahead, whatever the modifications of general opinion. He will thus have made his distinct contribution on the highest dramatic plane, that is to say in a crisis so great and sustained that his country's history affords no precedent for it; and those who feel most warmly toward him must hope that he will be content. From the purely aesthetic point of view the composition is already marred by his insistence upon contesting an election as Tory party leader, after he had led all parties with such unequalled vigor in the nation's years of trial. If he had left the partisan squabble to others, and retired upon his age and honor—to write a book, perhaps: and what a book it might be!—we should have been inclined to forget those events which, since the landings at Salerno in September, 1943, have successively darkened our view of this exceptional man in the affairs of Italy, Spain, Greece and India. But we know of old, however much we may regret it, that men who reach the supreme power seem incapable of surrendering it in good time, but must be dragged protesting from their places not when, but *after* the objective situation has made it imperative.

In the the case of Mr. Churchill the hour came when he decided, tasting the delayed fruits of an intoxicating success, that the war had become "less ideological." How much of his work in the Mediterranean, inspired by this extraordinary personal concept, can be undone by more astute and perceptive contemporary minds is now to be seen. So far from being "less ideological" in essence, the war has been so consistently ideological right through to the end that the British Army, which was most concerned in obeying Mr. Churchill's orders in Italy and Greece, has been most legally active in getting him out of office. Mr. Churchill inhabits such a curiously antiquated mental geography, full of strong points and plains for battle, where every inequality in the ground becomes an escarpment and every flat space invites a cavalry charge, that he has had little opportunity to guess at the unheroic, empirical and in fact rather scientific mind of the ordinary modern soldier. When he talks about modern soldiers in his semi-Elizabethan vein, he reminds us of that speech he made about iceboxes early in the spring of 1944, when, to prove how tenderly the Tory party made plans for the returning warrior, he went into a maze of architectural and culinary detail about the pre-fabricated houses he was going to build, and succeeded in convincing us of only one simple truth: that Mr. Churchill had never been inside a kitchen in his life except during election campaigns, and that food arriving on his table has always been, and always will be, a supreme miracle worthy of his inexhaustible eloquence.

This attitude of sublime ignorance toward the gross, ordinary details of life is, of course, the result of social and economic conditions which, in England, are much more closely intertwined than they are in America. Mr. Churchill is not a rich man but he has always lived in the social style or manner of the privileged order, which, among other things, involves systematic ignorance of innumerable details farmed out among domestic servants. The attitude was an element of strength during the cruel days of 1940 and 1941: Churchill could quite easily concentrate upon the great, simple things of life and death for the nation, partly because the crisis called out all his simplicity and greatness, but partly also because he never had to worry about the little things in good times or bad. Mr. Churchill called upon the people to be worthy of their ancestry and traditions but he never called upon them to share out their cabbages and leeks, to stay off the railroad trains, to furnish milk to an agricultural pool or to make over last year's shoes for this year. All those duties were assumed by the British people—and how they were assumed has been the admiration of the world—at the request of lesser men fitted to lesser preoccupations, but taken all together they had a great deal to do with the endurance which helped to win the war.

Churchill's own lifelong aristocratic disregard for the small difficulties and arrangements which take up most ordinary people's time enabled him to get through the whole war without seeming to descend from that eminence on which he will now be symbolically fixed forever, cavalry sabre in one chubby hand and an expiring cigar in the other. "'Ow 'e do talk," Bert would say admiringly, listening to him in the corner by the vestigial fire at the Pig and Whistle, and then trudge out into the cold night on air raid warden's duty, feeling vaguely happier because of the stout words that stirred an echo in every English heart. And Mary would rip up all the children's sweaters to make them over

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again for another year, adding a little wool from an old scarf of her own, and combining the colors in such a way that even the keenest observer would never know that war, and not simple taste, had dictated their choice; and greasy Joan would keel the pot; and thus with one thing and another, the winter and spring of dreary news and privation and danger went by, and then the war between Russia and Germany began and there was no longer any possibility of defeat, especially after America came in in December, although the number of things to do with and to do without never seemed to grow less, and the last year was not much easier than the first. Through it all there was Winston's voice on the radio, admonishing, exhorting or explaining, a kind of quintessentially English voice which had its moment of speaking for all, and upon which with the passage of time there were accumulated the overtones of the recent, the incredible past, so that even tonight's speech would carry some echo of the day when he said "We shall never surrender."

But the trouble was that you couldn't be sure of just what all that would mean in peace time; and as events piled up in countries where the British could have their own way, it seemed clearer and clearer that the old sport of empire-building, the pride and joy of the Tory party, had come back as strong as ever—had come back, indeed, on the very continent of Europe, from which its energies had been tacitly barred for a century and a half. Moreover it was made plain that the Tory party did not intend to keep up the social and economic controls which had made it possible to win the war. Bert and Mary and all the rest of them felt a disquiet which was increased by every letter from the soldier son, brother, husband overseas; and the sense of 1940-1941, that if this awful crisis were surmounted there would be another England in the future, was mocked at by the official blandness of 1945: the only thing to do was to vote plainly for the party which announced its awareness of the need for change and aid.

In a large number of ways, Mr. Churchill for two full years has been driving millions of people who were not hitherto socialists and have never belonged to the Labor Party into a frame of mind in which that party was the only hope. When, for example, Mr. Churchill on his visit to Rome took special care to demonstrate his monarchical and anti-populist prejudices, or when he went out of his way to say kind words to the last openly Fascist dictator, Franco, or when he lost his temper about Greece and lashed about him with wild words in the House of Commons and wilder shells in the hills of Attica—well, those were the times when he threw the votes at Labor with lavish generosity. All who know anything of Mr. Churchill know that he has always been a true Tory and a true imperialist, whose patriotism for the native island rose above every other consideration at the time of greatest crisis, but could never supplant those articles of firm belief upon which he has built his life; but no argument against him, or in favor of alternative views of society and economy, could possibly have made the impression he made himself, with his sense of drama and his pomp of words, on such questions as Italy and Spain, Greece and India, the "Gestapo" of the British Labor Party, and—glory be!—Professor Harold Laski. The grandiose runs one peril from which commonplace men and ideas are happily exempt: it is always on the very brink of being ridiculous.

The common sense of the English people has now come to Mr. Churchill's rescue and saved him, but only just, from the final excesses of his temperament. In so doing it has removed what had become a toothache from the head of the world, and given those with any sense of the future more reason for a modicum of confidence than would have seemed possible a few months ago. The Labor Party's majority is so great that there is virtually no end to what it can do under the flexible limits of the British Constitution. It is obsessed by gradualism and hamstrung by the economic difficulties of a highly industrialized state which has for generations lived by empire; within its own membership there is a wide range of belief; opportunists have flocked to it in recent years; it would be stupid to look for too much change too quickly. But the *motives* are now different; it will no longer be necessary to connect every village argument in the Balkans with some eighteenth-century concept of the "defense of India," and we can stop worrying about those kings and marshals who were excavated every second Tuesday to plague the peoples. The relation of this tremendous struggle to the future of men and women all over the world will at least be a living object of contemplation to the minds which rule in Whitehall.

As for Mr. Churchill himself, as he passes from history into literature, one's sense of fitness leads to the hope that some special honorific distinction will mark the event. In the old days it was possible for the nation to bestow a "purse," a great sum of money or huge pension awards, on those who had served it exceptionally well. That is how the Nelsons and Wellingtons and Marlboroughs were able to weigh the nation's gratitude. The fashion has changed and this may no longer be possible; if it were, there are many nations which should contribute heavily to that "purse." But one traditional expression remains which suits Mr. Churchill's habit of mind and life: he can be a duke. For my part, if I had the doing of it, I would have him called both marshal and king, since those words are so powerful an object of his respect: but owing to the fact that they still have functioning attributes in England the notion is not practical. Duke, therefore, let it be: but not merely duke of London or of any other geographical entity, however considerable. The exuberant Italians had a way, at the end of the last war, of making their great men dukes of the elements—"Duke of the Sea," for

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instance. For Mr. Churchill nothing less would be wholly appropriate: he could be Duke of the Channel which he made freedom's frontier for those twelve long months, or he could be duke of the burning deck, or duke of the air. Whatever he calls himself, he will always be the duke of the dark days, and since there are not likely to be any more winners or wearers of such a title, he might as well assume it in memory of June, 1940. Where the truth lies let the name lie also.

VINCENT SHEEAN

Hot Seat for Snyder

A FEW WEEKS FROM NOW, John Snyder may be wondering how good a friend of his Harry Truman really is. The most recent job given him by his friend the President—directorship of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion—would tax the talents of even Superman. His predecessors in the office were referred to as "Assistant President" or "President of the Home Front" to indicate the extent of their powers. Mr. Snyder is responsible for directing war production, and all the phases of civilian life which touch on either task: wages, prices, rationing, surplus disposal and the like. It is his job to make policy on all these matters, to give necessary orders for carrying out that policy to any department or wartime agency of the government, and to see that the orders are carried out.

Justice James Byrnes and Secretary Fred Vinson, the two former War Mobilizers, were reasonably well known to Washington and to the country. It was not hard to foresee the policies and methods they would adopt. John W. Snyder, now the most powerful man in the government except the President, is known to very few, and most of them do not seem certain of his capacity to handle this tremendous job. But those who know him like him, trust his honesty and sincerity, and are crossing their fingers and hoping for the best.

John Snyder and Harry Truman have been close friends for more than 25 years. They served together as artillery officers in the same division in World War I, and their intimacy has been constant since that time. Snyder was a small-town boy too, born 49 years ago in Jonesboro, Arkansas, where his father was in the drug-manufacturing business. He had studied electrical engineering at Vanderbilt University before the war, but when he came home to tiny Forrest City, Arkansas, like Truman he opened a retail store, a dry goods business of his own. Very soon, however, he became a bookkeeper in his uncle's local bank, and he has been in the banking business ever since. Friends say that this early business experience had a great influence on John Snyder. A St. Louis *Star Times*' reporter points out that Snyder in Northeast Arkansas was as surrounded by cotton as was Jesse Jones in Houston, Texas, but with different effect. Young Snyder watched while "planters, merchants, cotton brokers, and bankers went broke. Cotton gins were burned by night riders. Cotton piled up in warehouses. John Snyder, the young banker, saw his neighbors crushed by economic forces which they not only could not control but never even comprehended." Snyder moved up to larger banks until the depression. Then, in 1930, the Comptroller of the Currency hired him as a receiver to liquidate a number of closed national banks in Missouri.

Snyder had not lost touch with his old army buddies through all this time. He had been active in the Artillery Reserve, and after he had moved to Missouri, he and Harry Truman and Harry Vaughan, now President Truman's military aide, had again served together as colonels in the F. A. Reserve, attending summer camps for reserve officers. After Snyder had spent seven years liquidating banks, Truman, who had gone to the Senate in 1934, helped him get the job of manager of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation in St. Louis. Snyder did a good job for RFC there and made many friends. The St. Louis bankers liked him, sized him up as "serious-minded and competent," "a small-town banker who likes people and likes to deal with his bank clients in friendly man-to-man fashion." He was ambitious, they thought. He had a standing order at the St. Louis Mercantile Library for four books to be delivered to him each week, two biographies, a novel, and a historical work. He did and does arise soon after six each morning, systematically exercises for 20 minutes before breakfast, frequently works through until midnight, doesn't smoke, drinks moderately, collects dimes and pictures of airplanes, and plays a tough game of poker.

In 1940, Snyder moved up in RFC to the position of executive vice president and director of the Defense Plant Corporation which the RFC had established to prepare us for war. In Washington he allied himself with Emil Schram, Clifford Durr and others in RFC who were trying to break the hold of the banker-minded Examining Division on the defense-production program. He did not become a Jesse Jones stooge and did lend a strong shoulder and a willing spirit to the more liberal faction. He followed their leadership to insure final government control over the billions invested in plant expansion for war.

Snyder had returned to St. Louis in 1942 as vice president of the powerful First National Bank. He was respected in business circles and in civic affairs, voted Democratic but had no political connections, belonged

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to several clubs and the Episcopal church. He lived quietly in a rather modest seven-room apartment, and shared an office with twelve other executives of the First National. He remained in close touch with Senator Truman, conferred with him by telephone during the Chicago convention of 1944 and urged him to try for the vice-presidency. It was only five days after Truman acceded to the presidency that he named John Snyder Federal Loan Administrator to succeed Jesse Jones. Jones was one of the first to hail the appointment, and many concluded that Snyder was Jesse's man. Snyder made some changes around the Loan Agency, but his Board members still had long terms to run and their first loyalty was to Uncle Jesse who had hired them. Jones made himself available for their counsel in a Statler Hotel office suite only two blocks from his old offices. Snyder had been Loan Administatrator for only 78 days when President Truman removed Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau and replaced him with War Mobilizer Fred Vinson. Snyder had served too short a time to permit anyone to make an accurate judgment of his administrative ability or his basic approach.

Truman was in Potsdam when Mr. Morgenthau precipitated the shift; he promptly cabled the nomination of his old friend Snyder to be the new director of OWMR, and the Senate promptly confirmed him. Close associates of Snyder say that he did not want this promotion, that he was glad to serve Truman but dreaded the new responsibility. Still untested on the national scene, he steps up to bat in the most critical spot in the lineup.

A keen veteran observer says that if an accurate "job analysis" were to be prepared for the OWMR job, requirements would be that the man chosen should (1) Know his way around Washington (Congress, the bureaucracy, the personalities and how they mesh) and have prestige with all these sides of Washington in his own name; (2) know what's what on major policy questions (prices, wages, inflation, production programming and controls, foreign-trade requirements ad infinitum), and (3) be on intimate terms with the President. Both Byrnes and Vinson met these three requirements. But Byrnes was handicapped by his reactionary approach and his policy of umpiring rather than directing. Vinson was more liberal and more deliberate, leaned more on his staff, would probably have got better results if left on the job.

John Snyder truthfully can be said to meet only the third requirement. He still does not know Washington and is frank to admit that he is not well informed on most issues outside the field of finance. But in his other jobs he has known how to use the ideas brought him by his staff, and it is reassuring that he has asked able liberals like Robert Nathan and William Haber of the old OWMR staff to remain on under him. Hans Klagsbrun, a competent RFC man, is coming over with Snyder as general assistant, and will help Snyder both on policy matters and details of Washington operations. Apparently Snyder also intends to make better use of the OWMR Advisory Board than did his predecessors.

But at this late date, Mobilizer Snyder will find that the nation is still dangerously unprepared for the economic shock that will certainly come with the end of the war. In spite of the torrents of talk about the threat of unemployment and generalizations about the need for full employment, no government official has on hand a plan to avoid going back to an economy of scarcity. If the war with Japan should end suddenly, munitions expenditures would quickly drop from $4.5 billion monthly to less than a tenth of that amount. Perhaps 6.5 million workers would be out of jobs.

The Senate War Investigating Committee has just issued a report charging that the OWMR bears primary responsibility for our lack of preparedness for peace. It recommends that the War Mobilization Director be charged with full authority and responsibility for putting into operation a reconversion program that will insure the minimum of unemployment in the war-to-peace tradition. That and other parts of the Senate report are undoubtedly sound at this stage, but the report as a whole may suffer from the undeservedly favorable light cast on what the War Production Board has done about reconversion to date. Snyder will need more staff to rush through the basic planning that still remains to be done. His deputy director Robert Nathan is fully capable of handling this first part of the job. Members of the Advisory Board, who represent practically all sectors of the national economy, do not now have detailed enough recommendations to be of much real use to Mr. Snyder, and if they are to represent their special interests properly, all of them will have to provide themselves with additional staff assistance to prepare their proposals.

If Snyder really bears down, experts say, the long-missing basic data can be assembled in a few weeks' time. Before much more progress can then be made, Congress will have to act on a whole series of legislative proposals. It will be John Snyder's job to get that action, at the earliest possible moment. Perhaps a good beginning would be for him to request the President to call all the congressional committees concerned with employment legislation back into session by Labor Day, a month in advance of the reconvening of the whole Congress. In that month the key bills could be considered and reported in time for the opening of the new session.

President Truman has placed his old friend John Snyder on a very hot seat. There is general agreement to date that Snyder is honest, sincere, eager to carry out whatever plans his friend the President may lay down. But he is no innovator. President Truman knows

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John Snyder and he also knows the barriers that stand between us and the beginnings of reconversion and the attainment of full employment. Mr. Truman knows, for one thing, that there can be no reconversion program while there are 11 millions in the armed services and a $50-billion war program. Thus far, the army has refused to cut back beyond that point. The President's choice of Snyder for director of OWMR indicates that he wants not an Assistant President but an assistant *to* the President, an operations officer to carry out policies he personally selects. For John Snyder's sake, his friends hope this is the President's real intention, that he plans to take the hot seat himself.

Washington HELEN FULLER

The Central Valley Project

Who Is to Profit from Hydroelectric Power Development?

CALIFORNIA'S greatest natural asset, next to land and water resources, is hydroelectric power. The state possesses approximately 16 percent of the ultimate total hydroelectric-power resources of the 17 Western states, of which less than a third has so far been utilized. Obviously, much depends upon the character of the policies governing the production and sale of this tremendous power potential.

The development of the Central Valley Project is forcing a showdown on policy now. The basic issue is how the continuing income from the sale of power is to be distributed: whether to a limited number of stock and bond holders, as under private ownership; or to consumers of power themselves in the form of lower rates, and to labor in the form of higher wages and more liberal pensions.

If the first of these alternatives were adopted it would place a very heavy and wholly unnecessary burden upon consumers. For example, if the Pacific Gas and Electric Company, which now controls most of the privately owned electric resources of northern California, owned the power plants at Shasta and Keswick Dams and received the same rate of return on an investment of $100 million as it now gets from its present investments, consumers of northern California would pay $300 million in interest alone over a period of 50 years; while the $100-million debt would still be intact and would remain as a drain on their income. But if these two units remained under public ownership and control, consumers in northern California would pay $194,500,000 in interest *and principal* over a period of 50 years, instead of $300 million in interest alone; and at the end of that time, the entire debt would be wiped out. After the debt was paid, the $3,890,000 needed annually to meet interest and principal charges could be used to reduce rates and to increase wages and pensions. In addition there would have been a net saving in interest rates of $105,500,000 during the 50-year period, and this sum would have been available for current distribution to consumers and labor.

These figures refer only to wholesale power. The largest profits are in the retail end of the business. The State Railroad Commission reports, for example, that a private utility serving the city of Vallejo made an average net profit of 94 percent each year on an original investment of $100,000, over a period of 31 years. Or take the city of Redding, which bought its distributing system from the Pacific Gas and Electric Company in 1921 for $57,356, and, like Vallejo, gets its power wholesale from that company. With the profit from rates, it has reduced the debt by more than half, has expanded the system so that it is now valued at $299,408 and, in addition, has taken $1,196,342 out of the income to meet municipal costs normally paid from property taxes. The profit exceeded 2,500 percent in 21 years, in spite of the fact that the city's retail rates were lower than those charged by the Pacific Gas and Electric Company in cities of about the same size. If Redding should now buy its power from the Central Valley Project instead of Pacific Gas and Electric, it would save approximately $53,000 annually on the basis of 1944 rates and consumption—an amount almost equal to its original investment. When the debt on the Shasta project has been paid, wholesale rates could be further reduced.

The extent of the burden of private power upon the rate-payers of northern California is shown by a comparison with conditions under the public-ownership system of the State of Washington. If Washington's average charge for power in 1944 were applied to the energy sold by Pacific Gas and Electric in 1944, it would result in an annual saving of $58,569,000. Or to put it in reverse: If the average cost per kilowatt hour in the Pacific Gas and Electric service area for 1944 had been applied to the energy sold in the State of Washington in 1944, the total revenues would have jumped from $66,464,000 to $145,940,000—an increase of $79,476,000. In view of these figures it is no wonder the Pacific Gas and Electric Company feels free to spend rate-payers' money to fight public ownership.

Private ownership of utilities is clearly an expensive luxury, and one which we shall not be able to afford much longer. Employment and successful busi-

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ness enterprise will depend, as never before, upon a wide distribution of purchasing power and upon a marked increase in the total peacetime national income. Private ownership of power restricts both.

A practical example will illustrate the point. In 1939, out of a total income of $107,340,000, the Pacific Gas and Electric Company paid $32,090,000 in interest and dividends to stock and bond holders and $24,429,000 in wages to labor. In addition, $14,988,900 was charged to depreciation and $4,832,000 was added to earned surplus. These payments were, in effect, pension payments to ownership interests: they not only maintained the plant in perfect condition without cost to the stock and bond holders, but a part of them was used to finance expansion also. In contrast, only $423,000 was paid as pensions to labor. These charges, of course, fall on the rate-payers as an "operating expense" and no contribution at all is made by the stock or bond holders. The earning power of labor stops completely when a laborer dies, while the income to ownership goes on from generation to generation without the contribution of any new service on the part of the owners. Note also that in 1944 when the company's income had risen to more than $150 million, an excess-profits tax of $12,680,000 was passed on to rate-payers. None of it came out of the company's net profit. And this was done with the consent of the State Railroad Commission.

FOR A PERMANENT FEPC

The time has come to recognize that all doctrines of racial and religious hate must die. Not alone in fascist Germany or Japan, but in the hearts and minds of man, of free man, everywhere. This is a simple, clear thought which men who died in this war understood.

In our national life, the seeds of fascist race and religious hate still exist. As honest citizens, we do not blink this fact. We ask you to face it with us. The FEPC is the one federal agency whose duty it is to prevent or correct discrimination in job opportunity because of race, color, creed or national origin. In recent days, an unparalleled attempt, brazen and ruthless, to destroy the FEPC has been made by those in our national life who would perpetuate here what our sons have died to uproot in Germany.

We request that the chairmen of the Democratic and Republican Parties call special meetings of the National Committees and publicly declare their support for a permanent FEPC; and declare themselves unalterably opposed to racial hatred and religious intolerance. We request that the National Committees of both parties act now to execute their campaign pledges on the FEPC made to our people in 1944.

– From a Statement by the Steering Committee of the National Citizens' PAC to the Members of Congress.

The stock and bond obligations of Pacific Gas and Electric, on which consumers pay an average interest of more than six percent, are three times as large as the total bonded indebtedness of the state of California. They are more than twice as great as the entire bonded indebtedness of all the counties of the State and over $70 million greater than the bonded indebtedness of all the towns and cities in California combined. Moreover, nearly half of the stock is owned by 16 corporations with headquarters east of the Mississippi, while the 12,500 employees own less than six-tenths of one percent of the stock.[1]

Such a pattern of income distribution is not only unbalanced, but it tends to retard enterprise, reduce employment and drag down the general level of living. Low rates, on the other hand, result in an increased use of power which, in turn, reduces costs. As costs go down, rates can be cut still further and industries requiring low-cost power can operate more profitably. Consumption of power grows as rates decline, more labor is employed, and consumer purchasing power is increased because consumers pay out less of their income in power bills and have more to spend for other things. This works in the direction of a rising level of living, as it has in Sweden, Norway and the TVA region. Farmers, especially, would benefit from the reduced rates of a public-power program, because the cost of pumping irrigation water is for them a major expense.

The Central Valley Project Act, passed by the California legislature and approved by a vote of the people of the state, expressly supports a policy of public ownership and distribution of Central Valley Project power. The policies established by Congress and supported by administrative rules and regulations of the Department of the Interior also favor public control of power. But the Pacific Gas and Electric Company is, quite naturally, opposed to this program. For at least 25 years it has avoided carrying out the terms of the Raker Act, which stipulates that the power from Hetch Hechy must be publicly owned and distributed, and has been able to circumvent an express order of the federal court. It has fought the Central Valley Project from its inception, spending hundreds of thousands of dollars in the political field and in the courts. Before war was declared, the public-power program moved steadily forward in spite of the company's efforts to block it.

In 1942, however, the WPB denied priorities for the completion of six public-power units at Shasta and Keswick which could have produced 300,000 kilowatts, and at the same time granted priorities to Pacific Gas and Electric for the construction of a 143,000-kilowatt plant on Pitt River above Shasta—the largest single, privately owned hydroelectric plant in the state. There was a pressing need for power and the company had

[1] Figures based on 1939 reports. – W. E. P.

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managed to convince the WPB that it could have power on the lines by August, 1943. The Bureau of Reclamation could not have had Shasta power ready until the spring of 1944. Actually, however, the private power was not available until June, 1944—some time after public power could have been flowing over publicly owned lines.

As a result, when the war ends, we the people shall own two fine dams, one of them the largest of its kind in the world. And although we shall owe $100 million or more on these dams, we shall have gained only a fraction of the power revenue which we had counted on to meet their cost. On the other hand, the Pacific Gas and Electric Company will have an important increase in its power supply and—shades of Hetch Hetchy!—will be distributing over its own lines the power from the two power units now installed at Shasta. As a result, consumers, particularly farmers, will pay a large, continuing and wholly unnecessary tribute to the Pacific Gas and Electric Company, while the taxpayers foot the bill.

There can be no question about the ultimate outcome of the fight between private-power interests and public ownership. The facts indicate that the general economy cannot stand the present drain on income at a time when mass purchasing power is an essential prerequisite of full employment and profitable business enterprise. But the victory over private interests will not come without a fight. Their stake is too great. And in that fight the Pacific Gas and Electric Company will have income to spend and will spend it freely. But the facts speak for the consumers of power and the facts will eventually win. WALTER E. PACKARD

This is the last of three articles on the Central Valley Project of California. – THE EDITORS

Ballad of One Who Sang at the Stake

". . . If it had to be done all over
I would take this road again."
The voice that sang tomorrow's song
Rose from the iron chains.

Two men, they say, came into his cell,
Came stealing in that night.
They said to him, "Give in, give in,
Are you tired of life and light?

Only a word and you can live,
One word will set you free;
Say but a word and you can live,
Like us, on bended knee."

". . . If it had to be done all over
I would take this road again."
The voice that sang tomorrow's song
Rose from the iron chains.

"Only a word! Your troubles end,
The door swings wide and free,
The torturer puts his tools away.
Say, *Open sesame!*

Only a word, only a lie,
To change your destiny.
Recall, reflect, remember long
How sweet the mornings be."

". . . If it had to be done all over
I would take this road again."
The voice that sang the song in chains
Spoke for tomorrow's men.

"I know the story. A lion dead
Is less than a living ass;
I remember what good King Henry said,
That Paris is worth a mass,
But not for me ever." Let them go.
Let his blood be on his head.
He has thrown his only chance away.
The fool is as good as dead.

If it had to be done all over
Would he take this road again?
"I would do it tomorrow," rang the voice
That rose from the iron chains.

"I die and I leave my only love,
My France that will never die;
I go to my death, and O my friends
You will know the reason why."

In the gray morning the jailers came,
Speaking their German tongue.
Someone translated, "Will you give in?"
But firmly the answer rung:

"If it had to be done all over
I would take this road again.
The song of tomorrow will rise above
The sound of your leaden rain."

At the stake he was singing the Marseillaise,
"The bloodstained banners wave."
It took a second volley of lead
To keep him from ending the stave.

Another song rose to his lips,
French as the song replaced,
Yet chanted as a Marseillaise
For all the human race.

LOUIS ARAGON

Translated by Rolfe Humphries

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Washington Notes

Congress Goes; the President Returns

THE MOTION was agreed to; and at 9 o'clock and 9 minutes p.m. (August 1) the Senate adjourned, the adjournment . . . being conditional until Monday, October 8, 1945, at 12 o'clock meridian."

With these words the Senate, despite a guilty conscience and the fact that the human reconversion problem is wholly unplanned for, voted itself the longest recess in a generation just as President Truman returned to Washington from Potsdam. The House had quit two weeks earlier.

President Truman has vast problems ahead of him, quite apart from selling Potsdam to the public. The Potsdam reaction is favorable—with reservations. There will be press conferences this week with further details, in addition to the President's radio talk. The liquidation of a great nation is an awe-inspiring thing. It is not merely Republicans like Taft and isolationists like Wheeler who question the geographical stability of the new Poland, with territories some 50 miles from Berlin. There is silence in the communique, too, on the question of German labor battalions—or "slave" labor—a matter that may, ultimately, provide one of the most difficult tests for America's conscience.

On the home front President Truman has to decide now whether he is, or is not, going to get tough with Congress. He has sent Congress a lot of nice messages. They establish a program very much like Mr. Roosevelt's. And—as Senator Barkley confessed before the chamber recessed—Congress hasn't done anything about it.

Labor's victory in Britain is affecting Congress. At Potsdam a Communist, a Socialist and a Capitalist sat down together. And in Washington conservatives shivered a little in their boots. I attended the preliminary hearings on the Murray "full employment" bill. Five senators testified and everyone in one way or another referred to the British Labor victory. It was an important factor too, I think, in last week's sudden decision by liberal Democratic senators to hold a protest meeting on delayed reconversion legislation. Later it was decided to broaden this meeting and, all-told, about 30 attended, including Mr. Bilbo. It was surprisingly harmonious, I understand. They faced the incontrovertible fact that they were starting a ten-weeks holiday, that the Japanese war might end shortly, and that a dozen big domestic bills on which Truman had requested action, were untouched. It seemed to call for explanation.

Mr. Barkley made his lame speech to the Senate next day, knowing full well that the Chamber was about to play hooky. He listed, item by item, all the home front things Congress hadn't done. They made an imposing array, he stinted none of them, and yet he made no recommendation that Congress should postpone what he called its "brief holiday." Surplus-property disposal is in a mess; social security and unemployment-benefit laws haven't been extended; no action has been taken on full employment; executive reorganization, federal health programs, housing and a dozen social welfare proposals wait decision. The GOP, through Mr. Taft, shrewdly climbed on the boat with its own proposals.

Nevertheless it was encouraging that Mr. Barkley felt the need to make his half-apology. The acknowledgement of obligation is there, however weak the will to fulfill it. From now on it's largely up to Truman. He has the international program out of the way, the next test is domestic.

Notes.—Secretary of Labor Schwellenbach is all set to call a labor-industry conference for reconversion like that called by FDR right after Pearl Harbor; it may give birth to an alternative "industrial code" to supplant the anti-labor Ball-Burton-Hatch proposals. . . . Half a hundred private groups are organizing to combat the alarming public apathy to Europe's prospective cold and hunger next winter; relief is going to be one jump ahead of chaos—a medieval catastrophe is threatened. . . . Rightly or wrongly, optimism over quick ending of the Japanese war is reaching new peaks here, coupled with a belief in the last-minute entry of Russia. . . . The Army's quota of seven million men is likely to be undisturbed for a while, largely because top leaders' hands are so busy with other matters; the fact remains, however, that from now on Congress will take a more critical view of every military request. . . . The preposterous lack of qualifications in radio commentators who tell millions nightly what to think are currently discussed by *Variety*, theatrical trade paper, and by historian Dixon Wecter, in the *Atlantic:* Swing, Murrow, a few others, are approved; *Variety* calls Fulton Lewis an "extreme reactionary"; Professor Wecter takes Upton Close apart, suggests by inference that men of his caliber should be kept off the air. . . . Secrecy at Potsdam was in part attributable to Russia's distrust of the Anglo-American press, following the AP's premature disclosure of the Nazis' surrender last May. . . . It now seems pretty well authenticated that Stalin, at the Yalta conference, urged a total of 20 billions for Germany's reparation bill, half to go to Russia, one-fifth each to USA and UK, and the remainder to other countries; contrary to other recent news stories, however, I understand Churchill and FDR did not accept Stalin's proposal, but postponed discussion; there is now an indication of some such formula in the background of the incomplete Potsdam reparation details. . . . Back in 1921 German reparations were fixed at $32 billions, reduced by the Young commission in 1929 to $29 billions. Actually collected—$4.5 billions. . . . First Arthur Krock, then Henry Hazlitt, of the New York *Times'* editorial board, sound anxious warnings against US loans to Labor-controlled Britain; the implication seems to be that American economic pressure may be brought to curb the socialist Government. . . . Even if the Potsdam agreement to treat Germany as an economic entity is immediately invoked, Ruhr coal fields can't be reopened fast enough to save Europe this winter; it's six million tons of exports from the hard-pressed US or else a gamble on whether order can be preserved in half a dozen countries. . . . Marshall Field has bought the monthly *Southern Farmer*, circulation, 325,000, put Aubrey Williams in as editor and publisher and taken out some of the worst patent medicine advertisements. . . . The 390 Labor members of the new Parliament contain only 41 lawyers; in

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Washington, lawyers run Congress—of a total 536 House and Senate membership, 303 are lawyers. . . . When you read the next newspaper story of "grave" strike losses, remember the official Labor Department July comment: Munitions workers alone, by remaining on their jobs for four holidays (New Year's, Washington's Birthday, Memorial Day, July 4th) put in more than *five times* the total time lost in all strikes and walkouts during the first six months of 1945. . . .A German V-2 bomb was exhibited in a park here all through the Charter debate; an argument for internationalism more eloquent than that uttered by any senator. . . . Crude rubber from the Pacific may arrive soon, but not at first in large amounts. . . . Walter Lippmann's comfortable theory that the US would be the intermediary between the UK and the USSR is damaged by the British election; with Socialists in control, the UK is more apt to be the half-way house between plan-loving Russians and plan-abhorring Americans.

Washington T. R. B.

International Notes

Browder Baiting

I AM A LIBERAL and I'm very, very tired. I have been tired for two months now. On May 27 the *Daily Worker* published an article by the French Communist leader Jacques Duclos. It had appeared originally in the April issue of *Cahiers du Communisme*. In it Duclos —quite intelligently, as a matter of fact—denounced the Browder line of his American comrades. One knew then and there that the Communist honeymoon with capitalism was over. What precious time I had wasted in the preceding year and a half arguing with Communist acquaintances about their silly "unity" policy! I recalled all the epithets which ardent comrades bestowed on those of the Left who dared criticize Communist wisdom. And I thumbed through back issues of the *New Republic* until I found Granville Hicks's review of Earl Browder's *Teheran: Our Path in War and Peace* (July 17, 1944). I recommend it to all the comrades who wrote us indignant letters.

I have been tired ever since. Because since that memorable day in May I have been reading the "CPA Discussion Pages" in the *Daily Worker*. Every day I read what I had read the previous day. I read what the big shots had to say about the Duclos article—Browder, Foster, Minor, Dennis, Williamson, Flynn, and I read the chorus of the small fry. It must have been the monotony of what I read that tired me out. Browder repeated in column after column what he had been saying for a year and a half, and insisted that he was right. Foster, the new hero, his convictions vindicated, repeated them and insisted with equal vehemence that he was correct. The faithful, knowing in what direction the wind was blowing, added nothing. I certainly have a right to be tired.

Now I can rest in peace. Villain Browder has been kicked out of the Communist leadership. His lieutenants have all admitted their "mistakes" and "errors." The Communists are again the revolutionary vanguard of the American working class. Marxist-Leninist dialectics have been resurrected. The burden of criticizing the dark spots of the existing capitalist system has been taken off the shoulders of "tired liberals."

Having been very busy these last two months reading the *Daily Worker*, I haven't seen any of my Communist acquaintances. That's why I can't tell you how they feel about it all. But knowing their constitutional make-up, I have a hunch that they have successfully overcome the shock of the Duclos article. And I have no doubt that the great democratic discussion in the pages of their favored tabloid has had the desired catalytic effect, and that they will follow leader Foster as loyally as they followed leader Browder. Some will probably remember fondly the latter-day reign of Earl Browder. It had meant an easy life for them. Reading was easy. "A large section of our membership," wrote Williamson in his report to the CPA National Committee, "have had as their exclusive guide the books of Comrade Browder, and related material by our national leadership." This material will probably be burned now, and the comrades will have to settle down and read "the classics to deepen the understanding of Marxist-Leninist fundamentals, with reference to the science of society, the laws of capitalist development, the laws of proletarian revolution, the laws of development of socialist construction, the foundation and unfolding of strategy and tactics and the role of the Marxist vanguard party." Quite an academic load.

The comrades will have to go out and proselytize again. "While we enrolled 63,000 CP members into the CPA—or 82 percent of our membership (not counting those in the armed forces), and showed a growth of 25 percent," writes Williamson, "that was due primarily to the big recruiting campaign prior to the change of name." Those recruited during the capitalist honeymoon were apparently unreliable bourgeois. "We have seen a deterioration of the industrial and trade union composition of our membership since the CPA was organized. . . . Today we only have 316 coal miners although ten years ago we had several times that many. . . . We only have 1,427 steel workers and 840 marine workers. I could go on and on, with examples from other industries, states and towns." Truly a proletarian party.

Instead of the movies, American Communists will again attend meetings. During the Browder regime, says Williamson, "attending club meetings was not important . . . collecting dues was a routine and thankless job." During the past period, he continues, "the CPA has not had organized contact with at least 50 percent of its membership." There was a serious decline in dues payments: "During the last six months of 1944 dues in the CPA averaged 71 percent and for the first five months of 1945 they have further declined to 58 percent. Even more alarming is the status for the first quarter of this year in such key industrial districts as Ohio—44 percent; Michigan—32 percent; Illinois—45 percent and Pittsburgh—58 percent."

Mental gymnastics is the stock-in-trade of the American Communists. But while previous changes of "line" came with lightning rapidity, prompted usually by changes in Soviet foreign policy, the new line was impossible to adopt without face-saving "discussion." This discussion laid bare

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the moral spinelessness, the intellectual stupidity and political failure of the Communist leadership. Never have I seen such lack of personal dignity on the part of men who aspire to lead others. "Yet it is a fact," Eugene Dennis confessed, "that I have held and fostered certain opportunistic illusions regarding the postwar role of the anti-Axis sections of monopoly capital. . . . On such specific questions as liquidating the CPA in the South, as well as in incorrectly estimating the significance of the Labor-Management Charter, I bear a particular responsibility." Robert Minor did not save himself from being sent into limbo by admitting that "I contributed far more to the wrong line than merely a passive acceptance of it. One of the worst sources of disorientation in the Party was my pamphlet, *Heritage of the CPA*."

Needless to add that Browder's *führerschaft* is being thoroughly discredited by his erstwhile adulators. His policy is called "Social Democratic revisionism," "non-Marxian isolationism," "American exceptionalism," "liquidationism," and to top it all, one of "imperialist illusions." If the original Duclos criticism was dignified, the abuse heaped on the former leader by his old personal comrades knows no bounds. Their own lack of intellectual integrity boomerangs at them when we read that the reason for almost the whole leadership's acceptance of Browderism was not conviction, but "the lack of political discussion and democracy in the party. . . . Browder has been conceded altogether excessive authority—to such an extent, in fact, that his word virtually became law. . . . He was in the habit of simply laying down the policy, and few ventured to dispute his arbitrary pronouncements. . . . The party leaders and members poured out upon Browder an impermissible deluge of adulation and super-praise which placed him almost beyond the realm of our criticism."

Browder, in turn, retaliated, accusing his ex-friends of "the purest anarcho-syndicalism," "IWWism," "semi-Trotskyism," and "bohemian anarchism."

What a mess is this self-appointed vanguard of the American working class! E. L. P.

The Hard Way

STORY of GI Joe" is a long, hard, relentless fiction film based on Ernie Pyle's reports of the fighting in North Africa and Italy. Its aim is to show life in the infantry with all the integrity it can—the physical discomfort, the stupor induced by the killing and wounding, the hopelessness, and the malevolence against the conditions of a life that keeps the infantryman constantly humiliated and wretched. It is firmer about its feeling and its concept than any other Hollywood movie has been about anything in years. It has assimilated the whole lesson of the war documentary, which has shown the advantages of truth and some of the techniques for making the truth eloquent in a movie; and as a consequence it differs vitally from any recent Hollywood movie. It is very intelligent about the kind of working-class Americans it deals with. Its director, William Wellman ("Public Enemy," "Wild Boys of the Road," "Oxbow Incident") is very able at getting this American's surface hardness, withdrawal, pride, harshness and independence; and he is especially good when he has a group of men in close contact and speech.

The writing, as well as the direction, constantly shuns the romanticisms that have colored almost every other war film. Nobody talks about the war, either as an aim, or as a matter of beating an enemy; in general they seem too tired to talk, and when they do (about rain, mud, work, sex, discomfort) it is in shorthand, avoiding the obvious, which includes every great question like the danger of death and the separation from everybody they love. The men cast as these soldiers (Robert Mitchum, Freddie Steele and Wally Cassell have the principal roles as Captain, Sergeant and Italian-American private) look literally tough enough to have got through the war and don't look anything like actors. Instead of entertaining you with heroic battle action, the script skips most of the battles in order to show the effects on the men of the stupefying exhaustion, of the death of friends, of the growing hopelessness of surviving the next battle, of the maddening consciousness that nothing they personally endure in battle is going to help their personal situation. One important scene of fighting is shown—that in which two Americans adroitly maneuver a victory from two Nazis in a church—and it is so managed that killing is made a hard, real physical fact, and killing in a church made to hold the entire question of war.

The movie has no plot in the sense of a novel or play or the usual movie, but produces an effect like that of a string of newspaper reports on the career of one company of soldiers during the time they were accompanied by Ernie Pyle (who is played by Burgess Meredith). It is the only Hollywood biography I know that presents the hero in a believable relationship to the events and the other characters. Pyle appears as little as possible, and is shown as a self-effacing unparticipating observer, who talks like the soldiers and as little as they do. Besides his humility the movie manages to convey beautifully his iron-cast refusal to trespass on other lives and especially on the tragic parts of those lives; it also conveys some of Pyle's horror of war (most eloquently expressed in his hostile, exploding manner of typing), and starts to express his fatalism but unfortunately doesn't drive it home. The most moving part of Meredith's acting is his projection of the slight, narrow movements of a frail man who seems by temperament utterly unsuited to infantry life—this is done best during a muddy march when Pyle is shown helplessly sitting in a pool of water, conscious of his own weakness and with his fastidiousness overwhelmed. Meredith on the whole seems to me too cuddly and puppyish, the photography makes him look too cute and toylike, and there is a synthetic note in every word of his slow drawl. Freddie Steele's acting seems to me as good as it could possibly be; I liked the casting and acting of Robert Mitchum and of Dorothy Cooney as a nurse; the characterization of the Italian-American is inspired on all counts, including Wellman's and Cassell's.

"GI Joe" is actually a story-film version of "San Pietro," which was a deeper and more moving film. The first third of "GI Joe" is contrived and synthetic and not very well done, and only in the stretch showing the first activity in a just-conquered village does it achieve the breathtaking reality, fullness of detail and sharp effect from shot to shot that all of "San Pietro" has.

But whatever it lacks in grandeur, depth and tragedy and formal beauty, Wellman's is one of the only movies in years that says just about all it has to say, and drives it home with real cinematic strength. MANNY FARBER

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The Bandwagon

Dr. Robert Ley, German labor commissar, has been captured and slated for execution. This man was one of the greatest geniuses who ever lived in this or any other age, and history will so record. Holding the most difficult job in the Reich, he carried his nation through seven years of war without a single strike or an hour's loss of time. In this country we had six thousand strikes, in Britain four thousand. It is estimated that they delayed the end of the war at least six months.

In the name of humanity and in the name of all that is good, let this man make a tour of America and England to tell us how he did it. Then, if you must, take him out and shoot him. – *From an editorial by O. C. Lightner, publisher of* Hobbies—The Magazine for Collectors.

On the Home Front

Plans for a "Reno Divorce Special," a New York-Reno airplane charter service to sidestep travel restrictions which threaten Reno's divorce business, were announced today. – *AP dispatch from Reno.*

Let Them Eat Cake

It is felt that the proposed order is based upon an exaggerated view of the desire of the consumer for low-price merchandise. The experience of retailers has been that most consumers prefer the better-grade garments. Accordingly, it was felt that the necessity for the overwhelming emphasis on low-cost goods has yet to be established. – *From an account of the opposition of the dress-producing groups to the proposed apparel directive, in the New York* Times.

New Canaanites were evincing a great deal of interest Wednesday and today in the results of the British elections. Many appeared shocked, almost as much as some were at the sudden death of former President Franklin D. Roosevelt, when the news flashed to America this morning of the overwhelming defeat of Winston Churchill and the Conservatives by the Clement Attlee Laborites. – *From the New Canaan* Advertiser.

Amende Honorable

He [Secretary of Labor Schwellenbach] said that he had never called the Bureau's [of Labor Statistics] work "lousy," as reported last week, because he doesn't use the word. – *From the Washington* Post.

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

Practice Bombing

SIR: Your readers may be interested in the enclosed description of a training flight, written by an American army flier, Staff Sergeant David A. Phillips. Since writing this he has been reported missing in a flight over Austria and has been a prisoner of war in Germany.

Fort Worth, Tex. MRS. EDWIN T. PHILLIPS

[ENCLOSURE]

We leave the barracks at 1830 (6:30 p.m.), groaning under a load of heavy flying equipment. At the corner a group of men pile aboard the line taxi. Everyone is talking and joking and the air is festive, like an old-fashioned hay ride. All the men are young, and the setting sun paints their faces a healthy color, their teeth shine when they laugh. They crowd together and everything is a confusion of brown leather and white sheepskin and the constant criss-cross of the parachute harnesses.

Complacently, but impatiently, the huge Liberators stand on the runway, seeming so alien to the ground. The crowd leaves the taxi and files into S-2 (Intelligence) for the flight briefing. We sit together as crews, extracting cigarettes from the warm sheepskin pockets, chattering, slapping each other on the back. As soon as the briefing begins everyone is quiet, and serious looks are turned to the pinch-faced staff sergeant giving the weather data. His whining voice cuts through the skeins of cigarette smoke: "There is a thick blanket of fog moving from the mountains at 12,000 feet with a dew point of 35. The moon will rise at 2120 and continue until . . ." The navigators could almost be picked out from the other men in the crews by the attentive look on their faces. This is important to them, may mean the lives of all the men on the ships—the Idaho hills are treacherous. The operations officer gives pertinent information to the pilots and bombardiers. He gives the radioman his code number and the gunners their target designation. Finally the briefing is over and men begin scurrying to their planes. When they run, the great leather pants whisper harshly as their legs rub together.

There will be a practice bombing tonight and the impacts must be recorded. At the photo tent I get a case containing a fine movie camera with high-altitude lenses, and a ten-minute lecture on its use. Time is growing short and I hurry to the plane for final inspection.

As an armorer, I am responsible for all the fire-power and bombs. I check the "eggs" and their sensitive fuses, as they hang ominously in the dark interior of the bomb-bays. I check the turrets in the nose and tail, and the perfectly round ball-turret in the belly of the plane, I check the ammunition and oxygen supply. At the same time the pilot is tuning his instruments, the mechanics are swarming like ants over the motors, and the radioman is warming up his receivers. Everyone is busy, and that is good, because the slightest flaw is a deadly thing to contend with in the air. Everything is found Roger. We pile into the ship, strap on safety belts, and instinctively seek out the green mushroom-mound parachutes and memorize their position.

The thousands of restraining horses in the four motors start a thundering and the ground slips beneath the ship. We're off!

There are no words to describe the grandeur of night flight. The beauty is awe-inspiring and ethereal—a vast nocturnal cathedral.

But there is work to be done. I go into the bomb-bays, the very bowels of the ship. One by one, from the orderly rows of bombs, I extract a small arming pin. From that moment the bombs have a new significance. Before they were polite, potentially dangerous cases of streamlined metal. Now, by the removal of that single sliver of steel, they have changed into lethal instruments of explosion and power—20,000 pounds of TNT, Tetral, Amotal, Lead Aside and black powder hanging delicately on their tenterhooks of metal. The job of armorer becomes exciting—important. I must lean out over the yawning chasm of the open bomb-bay doors, holding on carefully because there is nothing between me and the pockmarked hills of Idaho. The narrowness of the catwalk will not permit the luxury of a parachute. With a last-minute check-up on the now dangerous, fragile bomb fuses, I return to the rear of the ship.

Now I open the emergency-escape hatch on the floor of the

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ship, fasten a safety strap, and lie on my stomach with head and arms outside the hatch. The camera is fastened to my wrist and again around my neck. For just a moment I can glimpse the bomb before it disappears into the murky darkness. Then I train the yellow reticles of the camera sight on the faintly lighted target below. When the telltale flash of impact comes a second later, I get the picture and gratefully draw back into the shell of the ship to warm my almost frozen hands. A few minutes later the procedure is repeated. Twenty times. Then I go back to the bomb-bays to see that all the eggs are gone. They are. I give thanks, because if one obstinate bomb had remained on the rack it would have been my duty to find some way of removing it. That is not always an easy—or a safe—thing to do.

The order comes that we are going up higher. We adjust our oxygen masks. No flesh can be seen on the other crew members; bundled up, they look like men from Mars. The clean taste of the oxygen, tainted slightly with the taste of rubber tube, is in your mouth. A waist gunner suddenly gets air sick. That is a bad thing when wearing a mask. He grabs it from his face. He must be held and made to put it back on as long as is humanly possible. A minute or so—that is about all you can stand without oxygen at this height.

Suddenly the earphones crackle:

"Unidentified aircraft at six o'clock!"

We run to our guns and peer out toward the rear of the ship. Sure enough, there is the exhaust flame from a small plane, probably a P-39. Behind, towed by an invisible string, is the elusive sleeve, which is to be our target. Each gunner's supply of ammunition has been dipped in a different color of non-drying paint. Thus, when the projectile passes through the cloth target it identifies the gunner.

Trying to simulate enemy action as closely as possible, the pilot of the pursuit plane whirls and turns and the faintly moonlit sleeve of white linen follows his every move. Now we are shooting and the staccato roar of the 50-caliber guns fills the night. The tracer bullets spew out, leaving a bright thread of flame behind them for several seconds. The sky is lighted with their brilliance. Someone comes too close to a pursuit pilot (there are several target ships now) and the angry, spluttering protest comes over the earphones. Everyone laughs silently in his mask.

Now it is 2300 (11:00 p.m.) and time to go home. Everyone is hungry and tired. We stow our guns and feel heartened by the thought of hot coffee and doughnuts. In the brightly lit, warm PX we drink huge cups of steaming hot coffee and laugh, audibly now, at the furiously distraught pursuit pilot. One by one we leave and start back to the barracks. The coffee is warm inside us, the lights shine in the barracks with promise of rest, and you feel good all over and glad to be alive. The great leather pants whisper as you walk and the plaintive song of a Negro in another barracks comes faintly across the parade grounds.

What Education Should Do

SIR: I do not know Mr. Karl Korstad or his teacher Mr. L——, to whom he paid tribute in the New Republic of July 16, and I would flunk any college examination in English literature, but I have a little experience in trying to awaken students to the significance of social issues. Whatever Mr. L——'s excellence as a teacher, he has evidently, as Mr. Korstad shows by implication, failed to make his students see one very important thing about the social problems of our time, namely, that they are not entirely "current issues" and can only be understood from their growth. A student who cannot relate Ruskin to Veblen or who cannot utilize even a dull course on Ruskin for his understanding of Marx has not been given a fully satisfactory analysis of modern trends in social thought. Enthusiastic students are always a credit to their teacher, but enthusiasm should be a reason to broaden and not to narrow one's scope, to understand the interrelations of ideas through time and space, and not to concentrate on intellectual hobbies. A Ph.D. candidate should be forgiven many *lacunae* in his information, but not the failure to understand that even ideas on Italian painting may have something to do with the structure of society.

CARL LANDAUER, Department of Economics,
Berkeley, Calif. the University of California

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Miss Catherine Lundy of Syracuse, N. Y., writes protesting the Congressional cut in the FEPC appropriation and enclosing a check for one dollar to be forwarded as a contribution to the FEPC. She says, "I am sure there are at least 349,000 persons in the United States beside myself who, if the matter is called to their attention in your magazine, wil lbe more than glad to contribute a dollar each in order that the FEPC may function effectively."

Mr. Charles E. Lotreck of Northampton, Mass., calls to our attention the "recent announcement that at the Fall Conference of the Massachusetts State Federation of Women's Clubs, the principal speaker will be . . . Archduke Felix of the defunct Hapsburg dynasty." He "wonders what principles and motives animate an organization lending a hand to the promotion of the monarchist aspirations of a Hapsburg in this democratic country."

The Lynn Committee to Abolish Segregation in the Armed Forces, which has been waging a long, consistent fight to end "military Jim Crow," writes asking for contributions to help fight "the shame of segregating men and women in our armed forces because of their color." Contributions may be sent to the Committee at 101 West 46th Street, New York 19.

We have received from John R. Childs a copy of the Liberal Party's statement on the United Nations Charter. It calls upon progressive forces to work for its increasing democratization on the grounds that "the guarantees given dependent peoples are inadequate and the veto power of th great nations is not sufficintly qualified." It points out that the Charter has not yet "mitigated the desire of most of the great powers to esablish unilateral systems of security," and recommends that the United States "give wholehearted support to the democratic and progressive forces in Europe and Asia," rather than to those of reaction, as the only way of reaching a *modus vivendi* with Russia. The statement emphasizes that the Charter is only a first step in the right direction and that its improvement will depend "upon the developing experience of the nations as they seek to solve common postwar problems."

The Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor sends us "Building the Future for Children and Youth," a summary of recommendations made to President Truman by the National Commission on Children in Wartime for the expansion of protective services for children. The Commission suggests that: "The Social Security Act be amended to allow the federal government to increase its expenditures for child-health services by at least $75 million. . . . It urges federal aid to education and the strengthening of child-labor legislation." Copies of the complete report may be obtained from the Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor, Washington 25, D. C.

Mrs. Dorothea Baker of Brooklyn writes that the letters of Edmund Rucker and Lillian Smith (the *New Republic*, July 2) do not in her opinion lay enough stress on the role of education in fighting against racial discrimination. Textbooks, from kindergarten on up, she believes, should emphasize "the climatic geographic rules governing pigmentation . . . and the true reasons . . . why inter-racial animosities are fanned into . . . fires with the telling stench of politics, trade, industry." If this were possible, "man might mature to an understanding . . . of his fellow man."

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Books in Review

One Poet and the War

A LITTLE more than two years after reading his first book of wartime verse, I feel more than ever that Louis Aragon is preëminently the poet of this war, as it was lost and won in western Europe. He is not by any means the only war poet: in France, which enjoyed a sort of poetic renaissance during the years of defeat, there are also Paul Eluard, Jean Cassou, Henry Michaux, Loys Masson, Pierre Emmanuel and Patrice de la Tour du Pin, to mention only a few of the names that recur most frequently. In England and America, it is hard to count the war poets, but Oscar Williams has made a 500-page collection of their work, which I plan to review shortly. It remains true, however, that Aragon is the only poet of the western countries who has left a complete record of wartime emotions, from the first shock of mobilization to the joy of liberated Paris.[1]

As a poet, it was his good fortune to be French, that is, native of a country that was defeated and occupied, but without having most of its intellectuals killed or exiled (as happened in Poland and Czechoslovakia) and without losing its hope of liberty. The poets in France continued to revolt against the Germans and against their own semblance of a government; and thus, as poets, they had an advantage over the British and Americans who have been fighting the war in uniforms. The man in uniform feels that a responsibility has been lifted from his shoulders. It isn't his war, no matter how much he believes in it and how often he risks his life for victory: as always in the past, it is the generals' war and the soldiers' fight. But in France, in the early days of the Resistance, each man was fighting under his own orders, until he freely submitted himself to orders from his comrades. I remember that Aragon told me long ago, in the midst of his reaction from the other war, "An outlaw is braver than a soldier, because he acts for himself." In France, all the members of the Resistance were outlaws. Everything conspired to keep them from fighting: the press, the radio, the police and their own self-interest. Throughout the country, men examined their consciences; and either they yielded or else they went to war, not as soldiers in the beginning, but simply as men.

Poets write best as lonely men, as rebels. When they are speaking for their government—even if they regard it with utter devotion—their verse becomes formal and stiff in the joints, like an old diplomat; or it avoids those qualities by assuming a false innocence, like that of Miss Millay's ballad about Lidice. The French poets of the Resistance had the advantage of speaking as individuals. But they also acknowledged a social duty that poetry can assume only in times of confusion: they had to keep the spirit of freedom alive in their nation. This was a task that could not be performed by novels or essays or plays in the theatre (although some of them carried their secret messages) or speeches over the radio or articles in the newspapers (until the underground press was established); all these means of expression were closely censored. The poets discovered, however, that their own medium had a freedom not granted to others; that by appealing to French traditions it could escape being suppressed by the Vichy government, which also claimed to be French and traditional; that, with its power of allusion, it could arouse emotions and lead toward courses of action that could scarcely be hinted at in prose; that, poems being short, they could be copied and passed from hand to hand, even learned by heart, as Aragon's poems were learned and recited; that in short it could play the same role poetry had played in Homeric times and in the Middle Ages.

Poetry in England and the United States does not usually try to perform this social function, and fortunately does not have to perform it. The poet here, whether soldier or civilian, is usually an individual opposed to the mass of men and to their accepted leaders. When he says "I," he means specifically the "not-they," the not-as-other-men. Aragon as an individual spoke in his wartime poems for the mass of Frenchmen: when he said "I," he also meant "we." And this was true even in the poems he wrote during the first months of idleness and skepticism at the front, when he said again and again, "I am not one of theirs":

> I am not theirs because my human flesh
> Is not a pastry to be cut with a knife
> Because a river seeks and finds the sea
> Because my living needs a sister life

—He is not theirs, in short, because they have become inhuman through believing themselves superhuman. He is a man like other Frenchmen; he speaks for them directly, in discouragement and rebellion and liberation. "For the French," said André Gide, whom Aragon would later attack—unjustly, I think—for his hesitations during the first year after the German invasion, "there are always, in every field (and so much the better), two poles, two tendencies, two parties; in our own field there is, on the one side, reflective poetry (I am using the word in its two senses of 'contemplative' and 'reflected as in a mirror') and, on the other side, direct poetry. . . . For all the splendors of cerebral poetry in France, it is from the other tendency, from direct poetry, that I am now expecting our renaissance: from the mood that inspired Aragon to write the poems in *Heartbreak*—" and he went on to quote the end of Aragon's "Unoccupied Zone," already famous in France:

> Hour after hour, without relief
> I sought an ill-remembered grief
> Until the September dawn
>
> When lying in your arms awake
> I heard one singing at daybreak
> Outside, an old French song
> Then knew my sorrow, branch and root
> Its music like a naked foot
> Troubled the pool where silence lay nightlong.

[1] *"Aragon: Poet of the French Resistance,"* a selection from his wartime writing in verse and prose, will be published during the fall by Duell, Sloan and Pearce.

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There is a fundamental simplicity about poems like these, in spite of their technical experiments, their involved rhyme schemes and their sometimes bold or obscure images. The emotion itself is always straightforward. Aragon in his poems was giving back their meaning to old words like "love" and "courage" and "country." "Permit me to say in public," he wrote in one poem, "that the sun is the sun" —and he was also saying, in effect, that death is death, that love is love, that France in defeat is still his country, and that liberty is not merely an orator's expression, but something worth risking one's life to restore. He wrote, in "Christmas Roses," a tribute to the first men executed for their part in the Resistance:

> Noel, Noel! That faint sunrise
> Gave back to you, men of little faith,
> The love for which one willingly dies
> And the future that relives his death.

The war gave back to Aragon the world in which words have a real meaning, even the oldest and tritest words. He was like a traveler returning after years to his own countryside, in which everything is familiar and yet has a different value, being seen with different eyes. That explains the effect, in his best poems, of a complex situation reduced, after years, to a statement as simple as that of the old Scotch ballads. He was the border minstrel of this war.

Even Aragon's principal fault becomes a virtue in his wartime poetry. He writes easily, with apparently endless powers of invention, but sometimes also with an air of negligence, a willingness to follow the rhyme or the image wherever they lead him, a tendency to repeat himself where he would refuse to copy others. He has a power of concentration that shames those of us who need quiet and seclusion for their best work, or any work at all. Aragon works anywhere, at any hour and in any company. I have seen him writing in bed, propped on his left elbow; writing under the grape arbor while boys were mowing the lawn; writing in a corner of a room that was full of people talking English and sometimes interrupting him with a question; he would answer it, in English, and go on writing French prose. That was in the summer of 1939, when he was three-fourths of the way through a novel, *The Century Was Young*. The novel was still unfinished when, after his return to Paris, his newspaper, *Ce Soir*, was suppressed on August 25. Aragon had just a week before he entered the army, and during that time, with the world going to pieces, he wrote the last hundred pages of his book. He corrected the proofs on the beach at Dunkirk.

For the poetry he wrote during the war, a writer of his special gifts was necessary. There was no time for self-questioning, for writhing in the pains of composition; there was no time to write at all, except for a man like Aragon who could do his work in barracks, in trains, in waiting rooms or by the roadside. Unlike less naturally gifted poets, he was able to set down his impressions and emotions as they came, so that his six volumes of wartime poetry became a complete record of the struggle as it was waged in France: the boredom and skepticism of the "phony war," the sudden horror of the German invasion, the utter weight of defeat, under which Aragon was among the first to stand erect; then the impulse for reëxamining French history, to find the real strength of the nation; and the growing power of the Resistance, which at first he merely suggested in his poems, but later mirrored frankly, so that his work was forbidden by the Vichy censors and he turned to writing ballads of combat to be published in the underground newspapers or smuggled across the border and printed in Switzerland; and at last the frantic joy of "Paris, Paris, of herself liberated" —all of it is there, in Aragon's verse.

MALCOLM COWLEY

Recent Books on Germany

The German Record: A Political Portrait, by William Ebenstein. New York: Farrar and Rinehart. 334 pages. $3.
Hitler and Beyond: A German Testament, by Erich Koch-Weser. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 216 pages. $2.75.
Germany: Economic and Labor Conditions under Fascism, by Jurgen Kuczynski. New York: International Publishers. 222 pages. $2.50.
The Moral Conquest of Germany, by Emil Ludwig. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 183 pages. $2.
The Junker Menace, by Frederick Martin. New York: Richard R. Smith. 155 pages. $2.
A Short History of Germany, by S. H. Steinberg. New York: The Macmillan Company. 304 pages. $3.

DURING the first World War books on what was already then called the German problem were not entirely lacking. The most remarkable among them was Thorstein Veblen's *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution*. Its penetrating historical analysis has hardly been equaled since and remains a safer guide to a correct understanding of German developments than many of the present-day writings. That the crop of books on the subject has been far heavier this time, at least in terms of quantity, is easily understandable. The recurrence of German aggression after the failure of a republican experiment invites new diagnoses of the German disease, if disease there be, and recommendations for a possible cure abound.

The books under review vary considerably in their approach: Steinberg's history is scholarly and factual; Kuczynski readily admits that he is presenting a combination of research and propaganda; Koch-Weser, many times minister of the Weimar Republic, adds to the already existing memoir literature on that period; Ebenstein and Martin let political pamphleteering profit from sociological analysis; Ludwig uses in a reckless blast what he considers the proper method of a biographer. But the authors agree that a correct understanding of Germany's national story, of which the Hitler period was but a chapter, is necessary for all, Germans and non-Germans alike, who are concerned with the future organization of peace.

While none of the authors makes an outstanding new contribution to the problem, Steinberg's and Ebenstein's books are easily the most interesting for the American reader, since they focus attention on many facts that have hitherto been too little dsicussed in the English language. Steinberg's concise and often somewhat pedestrian account is excellent when he assesses the disastrous role played by two of the heroes of official German historiography who in fact have been the villains on the German scene: Frederick II and Bismarck. The methods by which, a century

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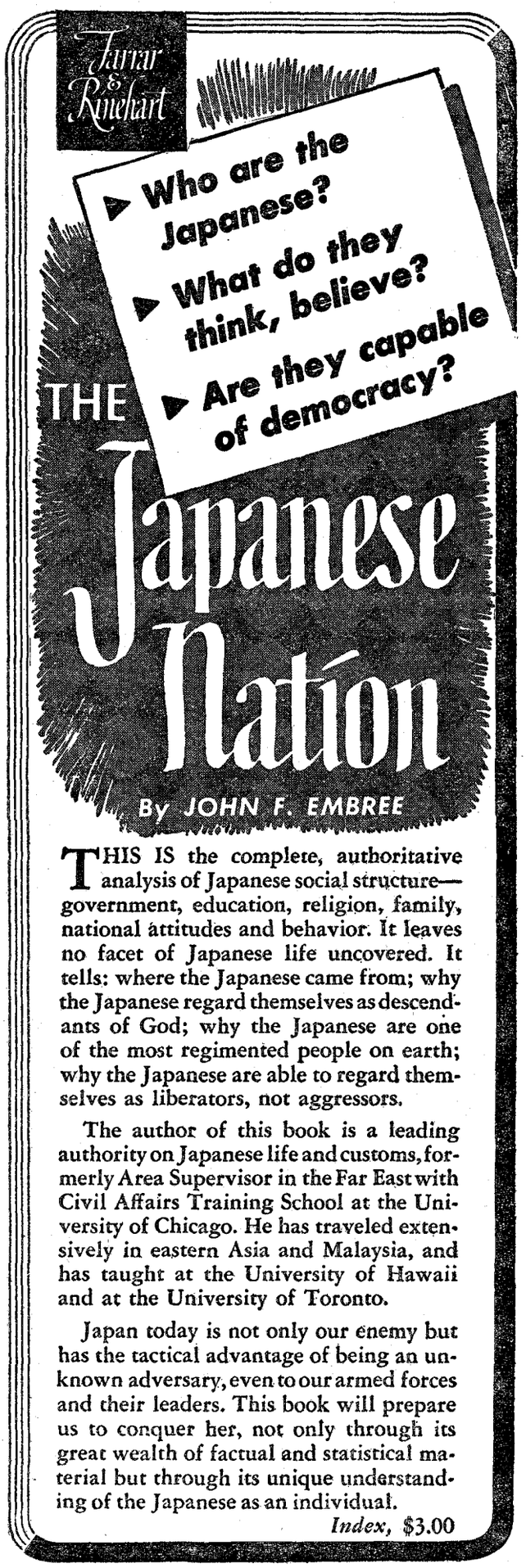
apart, both of these men prevented the growth of any public spirit, how Bismarck crushed the liberal opposition at home by overwhelming it with the successes of his foreign policy and by holding out the hope of widespread distribution of German goods, to what extent his Reichstag was little more than a popular façade to hide the autocratic fabric of the new empire—all this is rightly stressed. Other parts of the book are marred by the fact that the author simplifies events by fitting them into his thesis "of the unending struggle of the continental Teutons for a working compromise between uniformity and disruption." Centrifugal and centripetal forces are active in every federal system, not just in Germany. Hence the trouble must lie elsewhere. Moreover, Koch-Weser's concrete analysis of the elements tending towards particularism and centralism in the course of German history is much more valuable than general assumptions.

The actual antinomy in German politics, that of liberty and authority, is very well presented in the main part of Professor Ebenstein's book. The record which he establishes permits, in spite of its voluntary incompleteness, a real insight into the reasons why the democratic tendencies, though present, have so often been a failure breeding failure. The particular role of the army and of bureaucracy in German society is explained by the absence of social integration resulting in a need for an artificial instrument of stability. Time and again the author emphasizes that historical developments rather than biological substances are responsible for authoritarian traits. Presently available documentation does not yet permit a satisfactory historical account or a full critical analysis of the Weimar Republic, but Ebenstein sheds needed light on the most significant political developments during that period.

The greatest value of Koch-Weser's book consists in the fact that here a political leader of the defunct Republic adds to our yet incomplete knowledge of German politics and society during the Weimar episode. Many interesting and some pertinent facts are related. There is, however, one point where this book seems to lend some justification to the most acrimonious critics of the Republic and its leadership. Even after having witnessed the goose-stepping of Hitler's army as it approached world domination, Koch-Weser still denies that the Reichswehr was ever disloyal to republican institutions and that the secret rearmament was carried out by other than illegal formations. Old Hindenburg receives praise similar to that given to him previously in the memoirs of the former Socialist Prime Minister of Prussia. Altogether superficial are those sections of Koch-Weser's book which deal with various aspects of the Hitler regime. Especially what is presumptuously called an "attempt to give the theoretical basis of national socialism" is simply confusion worse confounded.

Certain phases of recent German history are covered in Mr. Kuczynski's study, which is now slightly out of date, since it was concluded in November, 1943. Introduced by a heavy and thoroughly Marxist criticism of Burnham's theory of the managerial revolution and by a violent diatribe against all those who see in a fascist society anything but a monopoly-capitalist society, the book nevertheless performs a useful function where it presents ample social statistics in an intelligent way. Most of the material is taken from Nazi sources. With considerable success the annual reports of the German Factory and Mine Inspectors are gleaned in order


Farrar & Rinehart
Who are the Japanese?
What do they think, believe?
Are they capable of democracy?
THE Japanese Nation
By JOHN F. EMBREE
THIS IS the complete, authoritative analysis of Japanese social structure—government, education, religion, family, national attitudes and behavior. It leaves no facet of Japanese life uncovered. It tells: where the Japanese came from; why the Japanese regard themselves as descendants of God; why the Japanese are one of the most regimented people on earth; why the Japanese are able to regard themselves as liberators, not aggressors.
The author of this book is a leading authority on Japanese life and customs, formerly Area Supervisor in the Far East with Civil Affairs Training School at the University of Chicago. He has traveled extensively in eastern Asia and Malaysia, and has taught at the University of Hawaii and at the University of Toronto.
Japan today is not only our enemy but has the tactical advantage of being an unknown adversary, even to our armed forces and their leaders. This book will prepare us to conquer her, not only through its great wealth of factual and statistical material but through its unique understanding of the Japanese as an individual.
Index, $3.00

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to obtain a concrete picture of the life of the German wage-earner from 1933 to 1937.

Mr. Martin's analysis of the Junker menace is both economic and social. His material is not new and most of the questions connected with his subject have been quite recently threshed out in the more scholarly studies of Mr. Gerschenkron and Miss Muncy. Because of the considerable importance of the Junker question for the correct understanding of German history, the more journalistic treatment by Mr. Martin would still be justified if his book were better written and if it did not put the entire problem in a thoroughly unhistorical framework. The wholesale indictment of the Junkers, even for things in which they had no part, such as the Pan German League, is coupled with a whitewash of German industry, which has been much closer to economic imperialism than to the "economic aspect of individualism" that is the author's ideal. When, in the field of politics, Mr. Martin states that "thorough analysis" reveals the German parties as representing regions rather than the divergent political concepts of the whole nation, it is to be feared that he never conducted that thorough analysis, for it would have revealed the contrary to be true.

Emil Ludwig, who in Mr. Ebenstein's book is rightly described as a ardent advocate of German imperialism during the First World War and whose admiration for Bismarck vibrates even in this latest of his numerous books on the German question, has not taken the trouble to check simple historical facts. Footnotes refer exclusively to Mr. Ludwig's previous works. His sometimes well told but also well known anecdotes serve merely to prove that the only good German is a dead one. The book could easily be laughed off if one did not wonder to what extent Mr. Ludwig's recommendations of how to treat Germany may have determined, at least in part, the non-fraternization policy of the Allied occupation armies, especially since the author was recently reported as sojourning in American-held Germany.

The non-fraternization policy has already collapsed and it is to be hoped that it will be followed by a method better suited to impress the Germans with the strength of human decency. That, however, is but the first step toward the ultimate goal. How to change the mentality of the Germans by favoring a change in their institutions remains the problem to be solved. The solutions proposed by the authors vary considerably. The previously often expressed hope that the job can be done by imported textbooks and foreign teachers seems to have somewhat decreased. Instead, almost all the authors strongly recommend overcoming "Prussianism" if not by a dismemberment of the Reich, at least by a new articulation of its components. To the reviewer it seems more important to create, by appropriate decentralization, the favorable preconditions for a solidly entrenched local self-government whose educational value cannot be overestimated.

The crucial question remains, however, whether there are elements among the Germans who will be ready and able to revive and stabilize the democratic traditions of their country, weak as they may be. Almost every one of the authors starts out with sweeping statements about the allegedly proved non-existence of such elements, only to conclude that of course they must be found if there is to be any hope of a settled state of European affairs. Professor Ebenstein's book, especially, which discusses the question in the most thorough fashion and with a poignant criticism of Allied policy in the period of reconstruction, is so contradictory in regard to the question with whom to build a genuine German democracy, that at times the author's conclusions become unsafe.

HENRY W. EHRMANN

Mr. Ransom's Poems

Selected Poems, by John Crowe Ransom. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 75 pages. $2.

In his more recent verse, John Crowe Ransom is at his best when he imitates some of the metaphysical poets:

> The famous kingdom of the birds
> Has a sweet tongue and liquid words,
> The red-birds polish their notes
> In their easy practised throats . . .

or (although I like much less the imitation of Donne)

> Great lovers lie in Hell, the stubborn ones
> Infatuate of the flesh upon the bones;
> Stuprate, they rend each other when they kiss,
> The pieces kiss again, no end to this.

In his earlier poems he had beautiful beginnings, as in "Judith of Bethulia":

> Beautiful as the flying legend of some leopard
> She had not yet chosen her great captain or prince
> Depositary to her flesh, and our defense;
> And a wandering beauty is a blade out of its scabbard. . . .

(But the stanza ends, alas, with

> You know how dangerous, gentlemen of threescore?
> May you know it yet ten more.)

His best piece is probably the first in the volume:

> Two evils, monstrous either one apart,
> Possessed me, and were long and loath at going:
> A cry of Absence, Absence, in the heart,
> And in the wood the furious winter blowing.

And the sequel is not unworthy of the first lines. There is here, as in certain other of his poems, an interesting mixture of weather and mood.

From time to time, but in most of the poems, there is a felicity of expression:

> A quick populace
> of daisies
>
> The fox, lovely ritualist
>
> The clock will metronome
> Your gallant fear

It is wit, and a whole school of American critics has unhappily taught us to appreciate intellectuality more and more. Except for some of the less known, like Elizabeth Drew, nearly all the contemporary critics emphasize intellectuality. Happily, not every poet hears them. And America has, in two very different kinds of poetry, two

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great poets: Wallace Stevens and E. E. Cummings. And we might add Robert Frost, Marianne Moore, William Carlos Williams and Conrad Aiken. But let us return to the "distinguished" poetry of Mr. Ransom. The pity is that the wit is not always witty. I do not like the end of "Puncture":

> Smoke and a dry word crackled from his mouth
> Which a cold wind ferried south.

Nor the mixture of unsimplicity and wit a little earlier in the same poem:

> To the defunctive posture of the stained dead
> That now not even bled.

There is in "Painted Head" a kind of *préciosité* inherited from two great poets, Donne and Mallarmé:

> By dark severance the apparition head
> Smiles from the air a capital on no
> Column or a Platonic perhaps head
> On a canvas sky depending from nothing . . .

a witticism which ends rather disappointingly when the poet teaches us that "homekeeping heads are happiest." The "by foul subtraction" in "Dead Boy" and "the warning sibilance of pines" in "Prelude to an Evening" may be compared to the "dark severance."

One of the dominating ideas is that which draws the reader's mind not upwards (as ideas of Shelley or Keats or Hopkins) but downwards, and not to the downwards of Baudelaire, but rather to the one of common sense. When the weather is cold, the fingers of the lover are "ten frozen parsnips": Miriam Tazewell, "for weeks she went untidy, she went sullen." The lady of beauty is "discouraged and cold." It is the right of Mr. Ransom, but it is also his duty to transmute this, to make the downward movement an upward movement.

What is more important still is that there are poems which are really painful to the reader. For instance, in "Her Eyes":

> To a woman that I knew
> Were eyes of an extravagant hue;
> *Viz.*, china blue.
>
> Where does she keep them from this glare
> Of the monstrous sun and the wind's flare
> Without any wear;

or toward the beginning of "Our Two Worthies":

> Jesus proclaimed the truth.
> Paul's missionary tooth
> Shredded it fine, and made a paste,
> No particle going to waste,
> Kneaded it and caked it
> And buttered it and baked it . . .

Mr. Ransom is not too discriminating with his rhymes:

> Distinguished pedagogue
> Who invaded the synagogue

or in "Philomela": apostrophized, gallicized, baptized.

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Poems like "Dog" or "Survey of Literature," which begins:

> In all the good Greek of Plato
> I lack my roastbeef and potato

are definitely undistinguished poetry, a kind of derision of poetry. But we have to say again that poetry is not the apparently distinguished manner of saying things. It is an element beyond distinction or the lack of it.

Nevertheless we are grateful for "Winter Remembered," "Spectral Lovers," "Judith of Bethulia" and "The Equilibrists." We know what the literary world owes to their author, a man who has given lifelong devotion to the service of poetry, and who, although his criticism appears over-intellectual, edits the *Kenyon Review* with a good deal of tolerance and intelligence.

JEAN WAHL

Dere Artie

Artie Greengroin, Pfc., by Harry Brown. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 212 pages. $2.50.

THIS COLLECTION of the perhaps too versatile Harry Brown's comic pieces for the British edition of *Yank* should irritate professional soldiers somewhat less than did his earlier, more serious and highly imaginative *A Walk in the Sun*—if only because even professional soldiers must by now be resigned to the comic stuff written about soldiers by Hollywood and radio writers. Brown had been in the Army quite some time when he began writing these pieces for *Yank* circa 1943, but civilians had begun to write exactly the same sort of stuff a year or two before. Since then, the civilian gagsters have become a good deal more authentic sounding.

There must be material for humor, on whatever level, in the rear-echelon life lived by GI's during the pre-invasion Long Wait in Britain. There are even glimpses of humor in these machine-made, perfunctory sketches. Apparently, it was the relentless references to English local color that made many men in Britain take to Artie when he first made his appearance in the British *Yank*. But even then there were men in the ETO who found Artie's dialect and adventures on KP and in the clink pretty tiresome.

In other theatres Artie didn't catch on at all. Outside the "English Isle" his carryings-on seemed about as relevant to this war as the last war's *Dere Mabel*. The passage of years has not made them seem any less stale or parochial. As brief, off-hand pieces in an army magazine intended for reading in only one theatre of war, the Artie sketches could doubtless be justified. What they are doing in book form at this late date is for the publishers to say.

Artie Greengroin, however, may have some value as evidence that men in uniform do not necessarily write freshly or knowingly about the business of soldiering. Some civilian critics, it should be noted, have greeted the book with glad, twittering, if slightly patronizing, little cries. What that is evidence of I wouldn't know. In any case, it would seem safe to recommend Artie only to civilians who have led a very sheltered mental life.

SERGEANT HERBERT LYONS

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

CHICAGO MURDERS, by Vincent Starrett, Elizabeth Bullock, John Bartlow Martin, Otto Eisenschiml, Craig Rice, Nellise Child and Le Roy F. McHugh, and edited by Sewell Peaselee Wright (Duell, Sloan and Pearce, $2.75). This second in the Regional Murder Series (the San Francisco volume is in preparation) under the general editorship of Marie Rodell is a distinct advance over *New York Murders*, published last year. Students of criminology have a treat coming to them in Mr. Starrett's witty researches into the early career of Neill Cream, which bring to light a trio of killings that further illuminate as unsavory a character as the history of crime affords. Also to be welcomed is Mr. Martin's lively addition to the data on that fabulous and almost incredible psychopath, Dr. H. H. Holmes. To one who had to rely solely on New York newspaper reports of the baffling Wynekoop case, Craig Rice's fuller account—this murder deserves a whole book—is helpful, though facts adduced still seem to me insufficient to justify a verdict of guilty (the Scots found a better out in their "Not Proven"). In "Marble Mildred" Bolton (1936), Nellise Child has added another grim and unforgettable figure to the annals of murder.

E. H.

In the forthcoming issues of the *New Republic*:

A review of Tikhon Polner's *Tolstoy and His Wife* by James T. Farrell; Waldo Frank on Hermann Brock's *The Death of Virgil*; Frederic Wertham will survey the recent books on psychiatry; and Jean Wahl will write on the philosophy of Existence.

Contributors

LUCILLE B. MILNER, who has been Secretary of the American Civil Liberties Union since 1920, recently resigned from that post. She is an occasional contributor to the *New Republic* and has written also for *Harper's* magazine and other periodicals.

VINCENT SHEEAN, well known foreign correspondent, is the author of, among other books, *Personal History*, *Bird of the Wilderness* and *Between the Thunder and the Sun*.

WALTER E. PACKARD, formerly director of the Resettlement Division of the Resettlement Administration, is a consulting agricultural engineer in Berkeley, California. He served as chairman of the Central Valley Project Committee of the California Housing and Planning Association.

HENRY W. EHRMANN, formerly a member of the research staff of the Graduate Faculty of the New School for Social Research, works for a war agency in Washington. He is completing a history of the French labor movement between 1936 and 1940.

JEAN WAHL, professor of Philosophy at the Sorbonne, is the author of books on Plato, Hegel, Kierkegaard and the pluralistic philosophies. He was imprisoned in Paris by the Germans and spent some time in a concentration camp in 1941. He is at present a visiting professor at Mount Holyoke College and has held the same position at Smith College.

SERGEANT HERBERT LYONS is a former managing editor of the *New Republic*. He has been in the army since 1942 and is now on the staff of *Yank, the Army Weekly*.

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